

73

Glabhar Imuinn. *The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland.*

FASCICULUS II.

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| XII. The Benedictus, or Hymn of Zacharias. | |

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With Translation and Notes,

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November, 1869.

V. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC UI CLUASAIGH.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Fasciculus contains all the sheets which the late lamented Editor signed for the Press, before ill health and other obstacles interrupted the progress of the work. It is issued by direction of the Council in its present state, as a second instalment of the publication from the Editor's pen ; with the reasonable hope that, as Doctor Tonn has left some materials for the continuation, and as there are two Members of the Society prepared to take up the work where he left off, another Fasciculus, carrying on the pagination and matter as originally proposed, will be ready for delivery at no distant period.

J. T. GILBERT, *Hon. Secretary.*

19, DAWSON-STREET, DUBLIN,
November, 1869.

¹ *Lathacan*.—This is probably the name which in Irish authorities is written Laidhgeann. Saints of this name are celebrated in the Irish Calendars, at Jan. 12, May 20, Oct. 23, and Nov. 28; but it is not easy to

identify any of them with this "Lathacan." The Four Masters record the death of a Laidhgenn, son of Baeth, of Clonfert Molua, A. D. 650; the Annals of Ulster call him "Laidggenn sapiens mac Baith Bannaigh."

R

V. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC UI CLUASAIGH.

THE following composition is of the nature of what the ancient Irish ecclesiastics called a *Luirech*, or *Lorica*, i. e., a Hymn to be recited as a protection against pestilence, assaults of demons, or other apprehended evils. The recitation of such hymns, or prayers, was regarded as the buckling on of spiritual armour, and hence they received the name of *Lorica*, in allusion probably to Eph. vi. 14, *seq.*, or rather perhaps to Ps. xci. (Vulg. xc.) 4, 5, 6. An example of a hymn of this kind, which is evidently Irish, and is attributed to one "Lathacan¹ Scotigena," will be found in Mone's collection, *Hymn. Lat. Mediæ Ævi*, vol. i. p. 367.

Of the Colman who is said to have been the author of the following Hymn, we know little except what we learn from the Preface of the Scholiast. He is there said to have been the son of the grandson of Cluasach; but who this Cluasach was, or what family bore his name, the Editor is unable to say. It appears, however, that Colman was a *Fer-Leghinn*, i. e., Lecturer or Professor, in the theological school or seminary of Cork, and that the Hymn was composed as a protection against the great pestilence which devastated Ireland in the seventh century. This seems to fix the date of its composition to shortly before A. D. 664, in which year (according to the chronology of the Four Masters) the two sons of Aedh Slaine, Diarmaid and Blathmac, joint kings of Ireland, with a great number of eminent saints and ecclesiastics, perished in the plague. There can be little doubt that the Colman to whom

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identify any of them with this "Lathacan." The Four Masters record the death of a Laidhgann, son of Baeth, of Clonfert Molua, A. D. 660; the Annals of Ulster call him "Laidggenn sapiens mac Baith Bannaigh."

this hymn is attributed by the Scholiast must be regarded as the same who, under the name of "Colman Ua Cluasaigh," is mentioned by the Four Masters as the tutor of St. Cummain, or Cummine Fota, Bishop of Clonfert, and author of an elegy on the death of that prelate, A. D. 661, which has been already quoted.²

It is believed that this Hymn has never before been published, nor has the Editor been able to find any other MS. copy of it than that from which it is now printed. It is written in a dialect of Irish, which fully confirms the early date assigned to it. The Editor has endeavoured, in the Notes appended to the text, to point out the more important grammatical and philological peculiarities of its idiom, and he takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry. To the former gentleman he is particularly indebted for much valuable philological and grammatical matter which is embodied in the notes; and Mr. Curry has given essential aid in the translation, as well as in deciphering and interpreting the obscurities of the MS. from which the text and its gloss have been printed. He has also to return thanks to Dr. Reeves for many valuable suggestions.

² See page 86, *supra*. The Four Masters fix the death of Colman Ua Cluasaigh at the same year as that of his pupil Cummine Fota (viz. A. D. 661); whereas the Scholiast's Preface states that the present hymn was composed on the occasion of the pestilence in which the kings Diarmaid and Blathmac died, viz. A. D. 664. But it is well known that the exact date of this celebrated plague is not very accurately

fixed, and that it continued with more or less intensity for some years. It may, therefore, be true, that our author composed the hymn on the occasion of the plague in which the kings of Ireland perished in 664, although he himself died of the same plague in 661. See Dr. Wilde's *Report on the Tables of Deaths*, (Census of Ireland for 1851, vol. v. p. 49 *sq.*



SEN DE. Colman mac hui Chluarag fep legimb Copcaige ipe bo pigne in immanra bia foenap ap in mbuibechap po boe ipnemir mac nOeba Sláne. Ap popectar imba boine in hEppinn in can fein. 7 robe a nimmac conna púicheir acé tpi nái immaipe bo eech fip in hEppinn .i. a noi bo móin, 7 a noi bo min, 7 a nof bo chaill. co po thpoirpete mache fep nEppenn, im meis nOiba Sláne, im Pechine Fabaip, 7 im Ailepan, 7 im Manchan Leith. 7 im pochaibe archena, im huacigub na ndoine ap bo dechaib tepca bit ann ap a nimmeb. Conib aipe fein tuccab in buibechap foppu. conib be ac baéatcap meis Aeba Sláne ipin bliobain fin. 7 na ppuiche po púibrem 7 alu mulei. Dicunt alu combab Cholman bo gnech uile. Aebnac papenn aile na bepnai aché ba pann be namma 7 in feol bia bñaim o fin immach .i. lech pann eech fip dib. 1 Copcaig bo pigneb m-ampfip ba mac Aeba Sláne .i. blachmac 7 Diapmarc. ipe .f. tuccait a denma. Tñim mór bo parab fop fipu hEppinn .i. in buibe connail, co po pipetap hEppenn hule, 7 co na papcab aché eech tper bune in hEppinn i mberhaib. 7 conib dia n-amacul co na feoil bo pone ap in ceitim fin bo pine Colman in nimmunnra, 7 ip ann bo pola dopom a benam in can po chinpcanapcap apcnam co apale ipfo mapa hEppinn amag fop eecheb in tebmara co mbeap .ix. [conna] ecuppu fep, ap ni cic ceitim capair innunn, ut fepunt pepici, co po iappaz apale ben feol Cholman, capen i capla doib bul fop pet comab ann fein. acpubaré Colman, cia fen on tpa, ol feiprom, aché SEN DE ; ap ipfep po ehmallapectom bul fop ipfb mapa immach fop eecheb pef in ngalup.



SEN de donfe fopdonte mac maire ron felabar
faessam buin innocht cia tiasam cain timabar
ITER foss no utmaile iter suide no sessam
ruire nime fri cech tress isseb attach adessam

Gloss.—1. *Donfe*.—i. pon fucca leip [may it be given by him]. *Fordonte*.—i. fopund be .i. ci fopni [on us come, i.e. come upon us]. *Ron felabar*.—i. bo parca apal copund diapbitin [may He put his veil over us for our protection]. 2. *Faessam*.—i. papcpptin [may protect]. *Innocht*.—i. in nocte tribulationis. *Cia tiasam*.—i. cepe leach ciapam [whosoever we go]. *Cain*.—i. alainb [beautiful]. *Timabar*.—i. cib imbai finn buip bitin .i. boné ap nñibin [although numerous, we are to be protected, i.e. he does protect us]. 3. *Foss*.—i. cib foppitbecht [whether at rest]. *Utmaile*.—i. cib fop imtecht [whether a going]. 4. *Ruire*.—i. popi [great King]. *Fri*.—i. contra. *Adessam*.—i. atchimic [we beseech].

1. *Sen de*.—For a translation of the tional Note (p. 132). The reader will observe that each line contains fourteen

IT^{ge} abeil meic adaim heli enoc diarcobair
RON soerat ar dia ngalar scip leth fionibith fogair 5

N^{oe} ocus abraham isac in mac adamra
immun tísat ar teomann nach an tairle adamna

A^{ilme} athair trí cethrur ocus ioseph an uasal
RON soerat a nernaighi co rig níl ainglech nuasal 10

Gloss.—5. *Ige*.—i. gubmit [we beseech]. *Abeil*.—i. luctus. *Adaim*.—i. terrenus, vel terrigena, vel terra rubra interpretatur. 6. *Dia ngalar*.—i. an in galup abian .i. an in buíde connail [from the sudden pestilence, i. e. from the *buidhe connail*]. *Fogair*.—i. fogair. .i. bone comatium [that gives warning, i. e. that makes threatening]. 7. *Noe*.—Noe consolatio interpretatur, quia per ipsum mundus consolatus est, in reparatione hominum. *Abraham*.—i. pater excelsus interpretatur. *Isac*.—i. risus interpretatur, quia per miraculum datus est. 8. *Immun tísat*.—i. cirtat immunb [may they come about us]. *Adamna*.—i. adamni, .i. gorta [i. e. the spelling ought to be adamni, i. e. famine], .i. quia per Adam venit dolor. 9. *Athair*.—i. Jacob. *Tri cethrur*.—i. xii. patriarchae. *Joseph*.—i. augmentum interpretatur. *An uasal*.—i. an uasal fep [the noble man]. 10. *Níl ainglech*.—[of many angels] .i. quia [multos] angelos tenet.

syllables; and that there is rhyme or assonance between the final syllables of each line. The word *Sen* in modern Irish signifies luck or prosperity, but in the ancient language it is of frequent occurrence in the sense of *benediction*, as in the *Féilire* of Aengus, *Sen a Chpirt mo labpa*, "Bless, O Christ, my lips." *Sen De* is the blessing of God, *De* being the genitive case of *Dia*, God. *Donse*.—This seems like a future, or optative of some old verb, *bunaím*, or *bonaím*. In the Gloss on *popbonte*, we are told that *de* or *ce* is for *ci*, *come*; and, therefore, the passage is paraphrased thus: "May the blessing of God be given by Him, may it come upon us." In more modern Irish, *Sen De go b-cirtib*, *op-painn go b-cirtib*. *Ron feladar*.—The word *pon* is a synthetic union of the verbal prefix *po*, with *inn* the accusative form of *inn*, *us*. The termination *atab* represents, in the modern lan-

guage, the 3rd person plural of the preterite; whereas, in *feladar*, it is the 3rd singular present indicative active, with an optative signification. Dr. O'Donovan mentions *epap*, or *apap*, as a termination of the 3rd person singular preterite (*Gramm.* p. 157). But *atab* as a termination of the 3rd person singular present is the ancient form of the verb deponent; (see Zeuss, *Grammat. Celt.*, p. 444-5). The verb *pelaim*, or *pialaim*, is evidently the Latin *velare*. See the Gloss. *Mac Mdípe*, now usually written *Mac Muirpe*, is the ordinary Irish designation of our Lord.

2. *Faessam*.—See line 52. This word is a substantive, and we must understand some word signifying *give*, or *grant*, to obtain the interpretation of "May he protect." The termination *pam*, or *prum*, *ille*, *ipse*, is the emphatic termination. Zeuss, p. 334. *Paoirpam* is still used to signify *help*, *succour*. *Dun* is the ancient

SNAIDSIUM MOISI DEGTUISECH RONSNAID TRIA RUBRUM MAIRE
IESU AARON MACC AMRA DAUID IN GILLA DANA

IOB COSNAPÓCHAIDIB SECH NA NEMI RONSNADA
PATHI PIABAT RONANSET LA SECHT MACCU MOCABA

EOIN BAPTAISET ADSLUINNEM ROP DICIU DUN ROP SNADUB 15
IESU CON APSTALAIB ROP DIAR COBAIR PRI GABUO

Gloss.—11. *Snaidsium*.—i. pon pnaib pmb [may be protect us]. *Moisi*.—i. aquaticus, interpretatur, quia de Nilo flumine sumptus est. *Ronsnaid*.—i. populum Israel. 12. *Jesu*.—i. mac Nón [son of Nun]. *Aaron*.—i. mons fortitudinis interpretatur. *David*.—i. fortis manus interpretatur. 13. *Job*.—i. dolens interpretatur. 14. *Fiadat*.—i. piaba i. fo búa, i. búa maith [piaba, i.e. fo. good, and búa, God, the good God]. 15. *Eoin*.—i. in quo gratia interpretatur. *Baptai*.—i. qui Christum baptizavit. *Adsluinnem*.—i. apluinnem ap capteir fpu in hac laube [we declare our love (or reverence) for him in this song of praise]. 16. *Apstalaib*.—Apostolus Grece, missus interpretatur Latine. *Diar cobair*.—i. cipaic diap cobair [may they come to our relief].

form of buinn, i.e., bo inn, to us. Innocht would now be written anocht, *hac nocte*. Zeuss, p. 1130. *Tiasam*.—Here we have the ancient termination of the 1st person plural, am, instead of the modern mfu, or maio. The am is clearly the Latin *amus*. The modern Irish to express “wheresoever we go” would be, cibe dít a b-céigimfo.

4. *Isaed*.—For ip eb, est id: eb is the ancient neuter form of the pronoun. Zeuss, p. 333. *Attach*.—Or atach, a request or supplication, i. gurbo. O’Clery. *Adessam*.—This is a 1st person plural, according to the Gloss.

5. *Ite*.—Or itce, a form of attach, v. 4. The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names Abel and Adam, are taken from St. Jerome.

6. *Ron soerat*.—pon, for po inn, see note, v. 1. The termination poep-at would now be poep-at, 3rd person plural. *Secip*.—Sometimes written cécip, the same as the modern gibe, for gíb be, or cíb b’e, whatsoever. *Fon nóbith*.—It will

be observed that here, and in several other places in this MS., as ángle, ver. 37, háingluu, ver. 43, the eclipsing m or n is marked with a dot; and in the Gloss on ver. 5, in galup nóbán.

7. *Noe*.—The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names, *Noe*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, are from St. Jerome.

8. *Tisat*.—See above, v. 2, *note*. Here we have the old termination of the 3rd person plural, which is now aib. This word would now be written tígib, or tíağ-aib. *Damna*.—*Damnatio*. The gloss on this word seems to consider the prep. a an essential part of it; and tells us that abamna, or abamni, signifying famine, or hunger, is derived from Adam, because by Adam came all suffering.

9. *Ailme*.—For ailm, or ailem.—The transposition of the e may possibly be an error of the transcriber.

11. *Snaidsium*.—*May he protect*. On the termination pium, see note, v. 2. *Moisi*.—The gloss interprets the name of *Moses* “aquaticus.” St. Jerome, more correctly,

Maíre íoseph don ringrat et spiritus stefani
as cach ing don forsláice taitimmet anma ígnatí

Cech martín cech díthrúbach cech noe b ro bai hingenmnai
rop sciath dún díar nimdegaíl rop saiget huan prídeimnai 10

Regem regum rogamus in nostris sermonibus
anacht noe a luchtlach díluui temporibus

Gloss.—17. *Maire*.—i. stilla vel stella maris, interpretatur. *Joseph*.—i. aice ipu [the tutor (or foster-father) of Jesus]. *Don ringrat*.—i. pon cognat diaphnadaul [may they come to our protection]. *Spiritus*.—i. anima vel gratia ejus. *Stefani*.—i. coronatus interpretatur. 18. *Forslaice*.—i. pon fuapláice [may it deliver us]. *Taitimmet*.—i. pon aichmet [commemorate]. 19. *Martín*.—i. pro Deo. *Díthrúbach*.—[a hermit] i. pro Deo. *Noeb*.—[saint] i. pro Deo. *Mí ngenmnai*.—i. virg- [initate]. 21. *In nostris*.—i. in Scotica lingua, vel huius ymni. 22. *Anacht*.—i. in pí poanacht [the King who saved]. *A luchtlach*.—i. lucht locha, no a lucht dubh i. [his company on the water, or his black company] Noe cum suis tribus illis et .i. uxores eorum.

“sumptus ex aqua, sive assumptio.” The interpretations of *Aaron* and of *David*, gloss, v. 12, although not very correct, are from St. Jerome. The interpretation of *David*, “manus fortis,” occurs in Origen and other ancient writers, and seems to have been taken from מַי, *sufficiens*, and מַי, *manus*—an etymology which exhibits a curious ignorance of Hebrew. *Ronsnaid*.—i. e., po inn pnaib, or po pnaib inn, *who protected us*.

13. *Sech*.—Ocer, beyond,—præter, ultra, supra. Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.* p. 612.

14. *Fiadat*.—This is a very ancient word, signifying the true or good God. The gloss, as above, is an attempt to give its etymology. The scholiast there tells us that píadac is the same as píada, which is derived from po dia, which he explains Dia maith, *good God*—po, *good*; Dia, *God*.—See above, p. 84, note 3.

15. *Rop*.—For po ba, which in modern Irish is go mba, *may he be*; where it is

to be observed that the ancient po is the equivalent of go, giving the optative sense, and not a mere sign of the preterite indicative. *Ditín*.—This word is now dtón, or dtócan.

17. *Maire*.—The interpretation of the name of Mary, “stilla maris,” is evidently founded on the Hebrew form of the name *Miriam*, as if from מַר, a drop, and ים, the sea. *Stella* seems a misspelling of *stilla*, having, so far as I know, no foundation in any Hebrew etymology. But it occurs in all the editions of St. Jerome's *Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum*, where we have the following:—“*Mariam* plerique æstimant interpretari *illuminant me isti*, vel *illuminatrix* [from the root מַרַר], vel *emyrna maris* [מַרְיָם], sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est, ut dicamus sonare eam *stellem* [read *stillam*] *maris*, sive *amarum mare* [root מַרַר]. Sciendumque quod *Maria*, sermone Syro, *domina* nuncupetur.” *Don ringrat*.—This is glossed pon rognat, the

Melchisedech rex salem incerto de semine
RON soerat a airmighe ab omni formidine

Soter soerus loth di thein qui per secula habetur 25
ut nos omnes precamur liberare dignetur

Abram de ur na galbai shaidisium ruri ronsnada
soersum soerus in popul limpa pontis ingaba

Gloss.—23. *Melchisedech*.—i. rex justitie interpretatur. 25. *Soerus*.—i. po poepartap [who delivered]. *Loth*.—i. declinans, interpretatur. Loth mac Aran, mic Thara, frater Sarra [Lot the son of Haran, son of Tara, brother of Sara]. 28. *Soersum*.—i. po poepa rinn [may he rescue us]. *Limpa*.—i. cohoin abainn [that is a river]. *Ingaba*.—i. ip in gabub ipabatap sine aqua quando venit ex Egypto [i. the need in which they were without water, when they came out of Egypt].

don, or pon, being *quod nos* (see note on v. 6). The verbs pingpat and togpac are the 3rd person plural present, of which the modern form would be pingpab and togpab. The meaning seems to be, "May they be pleased to come to our protection." Togpaim is *to choose, to will, to desire*.

18. *Ignati*.—Over this word is a note taken from some ancient martyrology: a portion of it has been cut away by the binder. What remains is as follows:—"i. Ignatius episcopus secundus post Petrum in Antiochia primus, et passus sub Trajano imperatore. Ignatius a leonibus et aliis bestiis . . ." It will be observed that Ignatius is here styled "secundus post Petrum," instead of "tertius," as in the Roman Martyrology, Feb. 1.

22. *A luehtlach*.—The gloss on this word gives two meanings of it, derived from the double signification of loch, which may mean either *water*, or *black*.

23. *Rex Salem*.—Here in the MS. we have the following note as a gloss:

"Hieronymus. Aiunt Ebrei hunc esse Sem filium Noe; et supputantes annos vitae ipsius .cccc. ostendunt eum usque ad Isaac vixisse. Alii hunc esse quendam Cannaneum et ignotum cujus Ebrei genealogiam ignorant. Secundum autem Augustinum et Origenem, non homo fuit, sed angelus Domini. Homo sine patre et sine matre et sine genealogia esse non potest." And in the margin: "Hieronymus. Salem, non ut Josephus et nostrorum omnes arbitrantur, idem est et Hierusalem, sed oppidum iuxta Scithopolim, quod appellatur Salem, et dicitur venisse Jacob in Salem civitatem regionis Sichem, quae est in terra Chanaan."—See St. Jerome's *Quest. Hebr. in Gen.* [in c. xiv. 18], and *Epist.* 73 ad Evangelum, de Melchisedec, n. 2 and 7 (ed. Vallars.), in which last place the above extract about Salem occurs nearly verbatim. Cf. August. *Quest. in Heptat.* lib. i. 74 [in Gen. xxv. 22].

24. *Ron soerat*.—For po innpoepac a airmighe; in modern Irish, go po poepab a upnaghte inn, *May his prayers deliver us*.

RURI ANACHT TRI MACCU AS URNN TENED CO RUADÍ
RON NAIN AMAL RO ANACHT DAUID BE MANU GOLAÍ

30

FLAITHEM NIME LOCHARNAIG ARDONROIËSE DIAR TROËÍ
NAD LEIC SUUM PROFETAM ULLÍ LEONUM ORÍ

AMAL FOEDES IN AINGEL TARSLAIC PETRUM A SLABREID
DO ROITER DUN DIAR PORTACHT ROP REID REMUNN CECH NAMREID

Gloss.—29. *Ruri*.—i. popí [i. Great King]. *Anacht*.—i. po angetrap [i. saved or protected].
31. *Flaithem*.—i. plaith em [i. noble sovereign]. *Locharnaig*.—i. polupea [luminous]. *Ardon-
roiËse*.—i. ap po arphise [i. may he have mercy]. 34. *Do roiter*.—i. a Deo.

25. *Soter*.—Here our author employs a Greek word, upon which the scholiast has written the following note in the margin of the MS.: “*Soter*, i. Ebreice, ihs̄, Greece; *Salvator*, Latine;” where the words “Ebreice” and “Greece” ought to be transposed. *Soerus*.—The relative form of the present indicative active, *who delivers*. The gloss says it is put for the preterite *ro soerastar*, who delivered. *Loth*.—Interpreted in the gloss *declinans*, from St. Jerome, but it really means *velamen*, a veil, or covering. *Qui per secula*.—i. e., the Saviour who lives throughout all ages, and is as able to deliver us now as he was to deliver Lot (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 7), we pray him that he vouchsafe to deliver us all.

27. *Abram*.—Here we have the gloss: “i. pater excelsus interpretatur, *Abba* enim pater, *ram*, excelsus. Abraham pater multarum interpretatur, et subintellige gentium.”

27. *De Ur*.—In the margin is the following note on this word: “In Ebreo habetur in Ur Chethisim, i. in igne Caldeorum. Tradunt autem Ebrei ex hac occasione istiusmodi fabulam; quod Abraham in ignem

missus est, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Caldei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus de idololatrie igne profugerit: quod in sequentibus scribitur, egressum esse Tharam cum sobole sua de regione Caldeorum; pro quo in ebreo habetur de incendio Caldeorum, et missus est Aram adhuc ante conspectum patris sui Thara in igne Caldeorum, quod videlicet ignem nollens adorare igne consumptus est. Loquitur autem Dominus postea ad Abram dicens, Ego sum qui eduxi te de igne Caldeorum.” These words occur in St. Jerome’s *Quaest. Hebraic. in Gen. xi. 28*.

27. *Romsada*.—For po e pnaibí, *he who protected him*.

28. *Soerum*.—The gloss on this word is worthy of notice, as it tells us that the ancient termination *pum* in verbs, instances of which frequently occur in this Hymn, is the pronoun *pinn*, *we*, or *us*. Thus *paoeppam*, may he protect *us*, ver. 2; *ciaciapam*, wherever *we* go, ver. 2; *pnaibipum*, protect *us*, ver. 11, 27.

29. *Tri maccu*.—Here we find the following note: “i. Sedrac, Misac, Abdinago, nomina eorum apud Caldeos; Annanias,

Diar fiadat rontolomar nostro opere digno
rohem occa im bith bethaid in paradisi regno 35

Amal soeras ionas faith a bru míl moir monar ngle
snaibsiunn beg ri tomtach tren sen de bonfe ffordonte

Ro fir a fiaba ro fir roerthar in guidise
ro bet maccan platha de hi timcuairt na sculése 40

Ro fir a fiaba rop fir risam huile síth ind ríð
sechroiseb roissam hi plaith nime cotrissam

Robbem cen es hillethu la hainglu im bith bethu
* * * * *

Gloss.—35. *Diardat*.—i. bap bia maith [to our good God]. *Rontolomar*.—i. nochoic-nagem [we desire]. 38. *Tomtach*.—i. romatchmech [forgiving]. 39. *A fiada*.—i. a be maith [O good God]. *Roerthar*.—i. poepmichip [let it be granted, or performed]. 40. *Maccan*.—i. meicebecca atbular pochetop in sancitate post baptismum [little children who die immediately in holiness after baptism]. 41. *Síth*.—i. celum. 43. *Hillethu*.—i. hi pappinge [in expansio, or space].

Azarias, Misael, nomina eorum apud Ebreos. Et in igne misi sunt; quia noluerunt adorare formam Nabecodonostor."

30. *Ron nain*.—Quid nos protegat.

32. *Nadleic*.—For na do léic: na, the negative relative, "who not;" do léic, now do leig (from leigim, "I leave, or permit"). *Suum profetam*.—Here we have the following note: ".i. Daniele, qui bis in Babylonia traditus est leonibus, et fuit cum eis in laeu leonum per ebdomad plenam sine cibo."

33. *Foeden*.—Over this word is the following note: "Herodes Agrippa occidit Jacobum filium Zebedei, et tradidit Petrum iiii. quaternionibus in carcerem ad custodiendum, et liberavit eum Dominus per angelum suum."—Poeber, now paover, is the historical present of paorðim, *I send*.

36. *Robem*, and in L. 43, *robhem*, for co po be inn, i. e., go po be rinn, that we may be: in modern Irish, go paðamap, go paðamuro, or go pað rinn.

37. *Ionas*.—We have here this note: ".i. Dolens, sive Columba, interpretatur; filius Amathi et viduae quam suscitavit Helias quando hospitavit apud eam, fugiens Achab regem in tempore famis."—See St. Jerome's *Præfat. in Jonam*.

43. *Helthu*.—Here an entire line is omitted in the MS., without any mark of omission. In the margin there is a note which has been so injured by the plough of the binder, that it is very obscure. What remains is as follows:—"Lechpanb po, 7 ipeab apail in lechpanb aili occameb diatopacht atp bengalup mapu lechpann cech ai tib do ponpat anuap. No ipeab Cholman im-

Reraig faichi cen dibad aingil apstait ard feḡab
 tairset lī ar nachar nembā nīa sluaḡ ndemna diarsenab 45
 sen de

bendacht for erlam patrāic connoebaib herenn imme
 bennacht forsīn cathrīḡse ocus for cach pīl indī

bennacht for erlam brīḡib con oḡaib herenn impe
 tabraib huile cain forḡall bendacht for ordan brīḡte

Gloss.—44. *Reraig*.—i. popḡs, no pēpḡs [great kings, or noble kings], i. qui fuerunt ante diluvium. *Cendibad*.—i. in pena. *Arđ feḡad*.—i. ip̄ ap̄d feḡad [it is a noble sight] angelorum et apostolorum. 45. *Tairset*.—i. huc usque cecinit Colman. 46. *For erlam*.—erlam, i. ēp̄ erlam, i. abut ellam fpu becnaim pēpca ḡ mīpbaile [Erlam, i.e. a ready champion, i.e. very ready to perform wonders and miracles]. *Patrāic*.—i. pop in eplam ap̄ Patrāic [on the patron who is Patrick]. 47. *Indī*.—i. ince [in it].

oppo aonup do pigne in immuib co
 huile ḡ popaib in lechpān po
 ap̄po ecomlanpaḡbia mo checepnem
 ecomlanpaḡpe re amolab pom; which
 may be translated: "This is a half stanza,
 and there is another, viz., the remaining
 half stanza, lamenting their coming . . .
 out of the land on account of
 the plague, if it was half a stanza each of
 them made all along down. Or it was
 Colman alone who composed the whole
 hymn, and he left this half stanza, so that
 if God should leave him with the loss of
 his company, His praise should be left
 deficient by him." The meaning of this
 last clause seems to be, that if we suppose
 Colman alone to have composed the hymn,
 he may have left the stanza deficient de-
 signedly, intending to complete it by an
 expression of thankfulness or praise, if he
 and his company should escape the pesti-
 lence. But if God did not think fit to
 preserve them, then the intended praises
 of God must remain unsung. The for-

mer clause is very obscure, because de-
 fective. Perhaps the meaning may be,
 that as each of the scholars made half a
 stanza, one half stanza would necessarily be
 left deficient, if the number of scholars
 should be diminished [by the plague].
 At all events it is evident that the defect
 is an original one, and was so regarded by
 the ancient scholiast, who has in this note
 given us his explanation of it.

45. *Sen De*.—These are the words with
 which the hymn begins, placed here as a
 sort of colophon, according to a custom al-
 ready noticed at p. 23 above. The gloss
 here shows that this was understood by
 the scholiast to have been the end of the
 original Hymn, as it says "Huc usque
 cecinit Colman;" and indeed the remainder
 bears evident marks of having been added
 at a later age. See note on line 51, p.
 136, *infra*.

50. *Columcille*.—The gloss on this
 line is an explanation of the reason why
 Colum received the appellation of Colum-

BENDACHT FOR COLUMCILLE CONNOEBAIB ALBAN ALLA
FOR ANMAIN ADAMNAN AIN ROLA CAIN FORS NA CLANNA 50

FOR FOESAM RIG NA NDULA COMARCHE NACHAN BERA
IN SPIRIT HOEB RONDBROENA CRIOST RONSOERA RONSENA
SEN DE

Opent pro nobis sancti illi in celis, quorum memoriam facimur in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per invocationem sancti nominis tui ihu, ⁊ mirepere qui pignat in pecula peculorum. Amen.

GLOSS.—50. *Colum.*—i. collum ap u buideór. dictus est [he is called Collum (Columba), from his harmlessness]. *Cille.*—i. quia frequenter veniebat ad Oipú nchill, i. arelaig dubh glaise quia a ab campum pro civitate veniet i epe et vicebant expectem [cille] in ibe dicur [etc]. *Alban.*—i. fpi muip anuip [by the sea on the east].

cille, or Colum of the Church. It is so obliterated, that nothing can be read with certainty, except the words above given, which suffice to show that the substance of the note was the same with that given in Irish by the annotator of the Feilire of Aengus (in the *Leabhar Breac*) at the 9th June, in these words:—Colum pro simplicitate eius dicur etc. Cille .i. ap chiachtan comenec on cill in po leg a palmu hi combail na lenab comocur. Baheao abbeirapren ecappu, in canic ap Colum becní on chill .i. o Thelaig Dubhglaispi hi Tip Lugbach i Cinel Conaill. “He was called *Colum* (a dove), for his simplicity, and *Cille* (of

the Church), from his coming frequently from the church in which he read his Psalms, into the company of the neighbouring children; and they used to say then amongst themselves, ‘Has our little Colum come from the church’ (cill), i. e., from Tulach Dubhglaise in Iugaidh’s territory in Cinel Conaill.” Tulach Dubhglaise [now Templedouglass, near Kilmacrenan] was the name of the church in which St. Columcille was baptized.—O’Donnell, *Vit. S. Columba*, lib. i. c. 25 (apud Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.* p. 393).—See Adamnan’s Life of St. Columba, edited by Dr. Reeves, Append. to Preface, p. lxx., lxxi., notes 1 and 2.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Translation of the Scholiast's Preface and of the Hymn.

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, and of the foregoing Hymn :

Sen be. Colman, Mac Ui Cluasaigh, Reader of Cork, composed this Hymn, to protect himself from the *buidhechair* [yellow pestilence], which was [prevalent] in the reign of the sons of Aedh Slane^a. For the people were very numerous in Erin at that time; and so great were their numbers, that the land could afford but thrice nine ridges to each man in Erin, viz., nine of bog, nine of field, and nine of wood; therefore the noblemen of Erin fasted along with the sons of Aedh Slane, with Fechin^b of Fabhar, and with Aileran^c, and with Manchan of Liath^d, and with very many besides, for the reduction of the population, because of

^a *The sons of Aedh Slane*.—Diarmaid and Blathmac, the sons of Aedh Slane, reigned conjointly from A. D. 658 to 664, in which last year they died of the great pestilence (*Four Masters. Keating. O'Flaherty*). On the history of this pestilence see Dr. O'Connor's note on the *Annals of Tighearnach, Rev. Hib. Script.* vol. ii. p. 204.

^b *Fechin*.—Of Fabhar, or Fore, in the county of Westmeath. See his Life in Colgan, at 20th of Jan., *Act. SS.*, p. 130.

^c *Aileran*.—This word is somewhat obscure in the MS.; but I think I have correctly deciphered it. Aileran was of the celebrated school or University of Cluain-irraid, now Clonard, in the county of Meath, and was surnamed *Eagnaibe*, or *The Wise*. Fleming, or his Editor, Sirinus, has published Aileran's "Interpretatio mystica progenitorum D. Jesu Christi," from a MS. in the Monastery of St. Gall: *Collectan. Sacr.* p. 182, sq.; and Colgan attributes to him the Life of Patrick, which stands fourth in his collection; *Trias Thaum.*, p. 35.

^d *Manchan of Liath*.—The *Annals of Tighearnach* call him Bishop of Liath, now Liath-Manchain, or Lemanaghan, in the King's County; a place which was originally called Tuaim nEire, or Erc's Tumulus (*Four Masters, A. D. 645*). The word Liath, (or Leigh, which is the genitive form of Liath), signifies gray, or boggy land. The following interesting mention of St. Manchan occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal at January 24:—*Manchán lech, mac lndaige. Mella ann a mhacair 7 a beirí deirdeceap .i. Dnella 7 Dneillrech. Aed a eaglaib darab ann liac Manchán, no leic Manchán, a nDealbna rhec Cooldm. Aedo a eairí ipin mbaile ceona i rcpin aed ar na cuthbae go deirdegaighe le clápaib bon leic aircig 7 ó útha bon leic amug tóipem ar na pionnaib go po deirdegaighe.* "Manchan of Liath, the son of lndaigh [*filius lndaigh*, Colgan, *Act. SS.*, p. 330, n. 6]. Mella was the name of his mother. His two sisters were Grella and Grellseach. His church, which is named Liath Man-

the scarcity of food, which was the consequence of their great numbers. And it was on that account that the *buidhechair* was sent upon them: so that the sons of Aedh Slane died of it in that year, also the learned men above mentioned, et alii multi.

Some say that it was Colman composed the whole of it. Other people say that he composed but two stanzas of it only, and that the school^c made the rest, i. e., each man of them made each a half stanza.

It was composed in Cork, in the time of the two sons of Aedh Slane, viz., Blathmac and Diarmaid. And this was the occasion on which it was composed: a great plague that was sent upon the men of Erin, viz., the *buidhe connall* [or yellow plague], which pervaded all Erin, and left only one out of every three persons alive in Erin; and it was to save them [i. e., the survivors], with his own school, from that pestilence, that Colman composed this Hymn. And the place where he happened to compose it was in the course of his voyage to a certain island of the sea of Erin, flying abroad from this pestilence, until there were nine waves between him and the land, for the plague did not extend further, as the learned relate. And a certain man of the school of Colman asked what blessing there was for them, in search of which they had set out on that journey. Then Colman said, "What blessing dost thou need," said he, "but The blessing of God?" For what they desired was to go out upon the islands of the sea, to escape from the distemper.

THE blessing of God come upon us; may the Son of Mary cover us;
May He protect us this night, wherever we go though great our numbers.

WHETHER at rest or in motion; whether sitting or standing;
The King of Heaven be against every assault; this is the supplication that we offer up.

THE Prayer of Abel, son of Adam, of Heli and Enoch, be our help;
May they free us from the sudden pestilence, whatsoever part of the world it threatens.

NOE, and Abraham; Isaac, the admirable son;
May they come around us against the pestilence, that we come not to trouble.

chain, or Leith Manchain, is in Delbhna Mee Cochlain. His relics are in the same place, in a shrine that is beautifully ornamented, with boards in the inside, and bronze on the outside of them, and splendidly carved." This remarkable shrine^d still exists. It is preserved in the Roman Catholic chapel at Lemanachain, although the relics of the saint have long since disappeared from it. It is greatly mutilated; but enough remained to enable

Dr. Carte, of the Royal Dublin Society, to make a model of it in electrotype, which was exhibited in the Antiquarian Department of the Dublin Exhibition in 1853. This beautiful model is now in the possession of John Lestaigne, Esq., of Dublin.

^c *The school*—i. e. the school over which he presided, or his scholars. See note on line 43, *supra*.

^d *The blessing of God*.—Alluding to the words with which the Hymn begins.

I BESEECH the father of thrice four persons, and Joseph the illustrious ;
May their prayers to the noble King of many angels deliver us. 10

MAY Moses the good leader protect us, who protected in crossing the Red Sea ;
Jesus ; Aaron son of Amra ; David the bold youth.

JOB, with his diseases, protect us against the poison :
The prophets of the Lord guard us, with the seven sons of Maccabæus.

JOHN the Baptist we name ; be he our covering, be he our protection : 15
Jesus, with His Apostles, be our help against danger.

MARY, Joseph, guard us, and the spirit of Stephen ;
Out of every difficulty may it deliver us, to invoke the name of Ignatius.

EVERY Martyr, every Hermit, every Saint who was in chastity,
Be a shield to us, for our defence ; be an arrow from us against demons. 20

REGEM regum rogamus, in nostris sermonibus,
Who saved Noe and his company, diluvii temporibus.

MELCHISEDECH, rex Salem, incerto de semine,
May his prayers deliver us ab omni formidine.

THE Saviour who delivered Lot from the fire, qui per secula habetur, 25
Ut nos omnes, precamur, liberare dignetur.

ABRAM from Ur of the Chaldees ; may the Lord who protected him protect us ;
May He save us, who saved the people, when in want of lymphæ fontis.

THE Lord, who delivered the three youths from the oven of red fire,
Deliver us, as he delivered David de manu Goliæ. 30

9. *The father*.—"The father of thrice four," viz., Israel, the father of the twelve patriarchs.

10. *To the noble King*, i. e. their prayers addressed to the noble King.

18. *May it deliver us*, i. e. may the invocation of the name of Ignatius deliver us.

21. *In nostris*.—The Gloss on the original of this passage gives two interpretations of it—either "in our vernacular Scottish or Irish language," in Scot-

ica lingua ; or "in this our hymn," in sermonibus hujus hymni. As the original is here partly Irish and partly Latin, I have translated the Irish only, leaving the Latin lines as they stand in the text.

23. *Incerto*.—Alluding to Heb. vii. 3.

28. *Lymphæ fontis*.—Num. xx. 2, sq.

29. *Red fire*.—Literally, "from a furnace, or oven, of fire with redness : "Ceciderunt in medio camino ignis ardentis colligati."—Dan. iii. 23.

THE noble Sovereign of the brilliant heaven, may He have mercy on our misery :
Who did not leave suum prophetam ulli leonum ori.

LIKE as He sent the Angel to deliver Peter from his chains ;
So may He send to us for our relief : may He make smooth for us, whatsoever
is not smooth.

TO our Lord we submit our will, nostro opere digno, 35
That we may be with Him in eternal life, in Paradisi regno.

AS He delivered Jonas the prophet from the whale's belly—great deed,
The good King grant us powerful protection; the blessing of God come upon us.

MAY it be true, O Lord, may it be true, that this prayer be granted ;
That the children of God's kingdom may be around this School. 40

MAY it be true, O Lord, that it become true, that we all reach the peace of the King.
That wherever we go, or arrive, we may reach the Kingdom of Heaven.

THAT we be without age, in endless space, with angels, in life eternal.
* * * * *

PATRIARCHS, Prophets, without fail, Angels, Apostles, glorious vision !
Come they with our Heavenly Father ; against hosts of demons to bless us. 45
SEN OE.

A BLESSING upon the Patron Patrick, with the saints of Erin around him :
A blessing upon this city, and upon every one that is therein.

34. *Not smooth*.—Literally, "May every roughness [everything that is not smooth, cech n-am-peub] be made smooth before us."

37. *Whale's belly*.—Literally, "From the belly of the great animal," mfl, or mfol, mól, is the name still given to a whale both in Ireland and in Scotland.

40. *Children of God's kingdom*, i. e. the angels. A different interpretation is given in the Gloss, viz. the spirits of children who die after baptism, before the commission of actual sin.

43. *Without age*, i. e. without growing old.—

Endless space : literally, in broadness, or expansion. lu [for i. in] léchu, breadth, extent, glossed by papunze, space, expansion, room.

44. *Glorious vision*.—Literally, "high-seeing," arb-pegab : which perhaps may mean that angels and apostles behold us from on high.

45. *Come*, i. e. may they come : cæppet is the 3rd person plural. *Protect us*.—Literally, "be for our blessing," or "protection," buap, now b'ap, i. e. do ap, for our, pénað, blessing.

46. *The Patron*.—The word translated *patron*

A BLESSING upon the Patron Brigid, with the virgins of Erin around her,
Give ye all, without guile, a blessing upon the dignity of Brigid.

A BLESSING on Colum-cille, with the saints of Alba along with him, 50
On the soul of the pure Adamnan, who put a law on the clans.

UPON the protection of the King of the Elements, a guardianship from which we
cannot be taken,
May the Holy Ghost inspire us; may Christ deliver us; may He bless us.

SEN OE.

ORENT pro nobis sancti illi in cœlis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per invocationem sancti nominis tui Jesu, et miserere, qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

¹is eptam, which originally, perhaps, signified noble, but is now applied to the saint who is regarded as a patron. The verses which follow from line 46 to the end formed no part of the original Hymn, which ended at line 45, as is evident from the repetition of the first words, Sen oe, according to a practice that has been already noticed. See p. 23.

47. *This city*, i.e. this monastery: the place in which these additional verses were added. Thus the Annals of Ulster (A. D. 806) record the foundation of the Columbian monastery of Kells in these words: "Constructio novæ civitatis Columbacille in Ceinnus." It is in this sense the word is used in the Hymn of St. Mugint, vv. 2 and 3 (pp. 95, 96 *supra*), a fact which was overlooked when the note, p. 95, was written.

49. *Dignity*.—So the word oþban is explained

in several ancient Glossaries. Oþban .i. uapal 5nað, "a noble degree, or dignity" (MS. II. 3, 8, p. 550, Trin. Coll. Dubl.) Oþban .i. uapal ut ept: papu5að oþban .i. papu5að in uapal—"a noble person, as, to violate an *ordan*, is to violate (or insult) a noble person."—*O'Davoren, Gloss.*

50. *Along with him*.—Cille, now imaille.

51. *A law*.—Cain, a rule, precept, commandment, from *canon*. This is a remarkable allusion to the Cain Adamnain (canon, or code of laws drawn up by Adamnan), so frequently mentioned in the Annals and Brehon Laws; and proves that these last four stanzas must have been added in or after the eighth century. For the *Cain Adamnani* was compiled A. D. 697, and Adamnan died A. D. 704. See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 178, and note ^b.

VI. THE HYMN OF ST. CUCHUIMNE.

THE following Hymn has been published by Mone, in his *Hymni Latini Medii Ævi* (vol. ii. p. 383), from a collation of three MSS. The first is that preserved at Bâle, of which some account has already been given, p. 55, *supra*. The second is a MS. of the ninth century, in an Irish hand, now at Karlsruhe. The third is a MS. of the eighth century, according to Mone's judgment, also preserved at Karlsruhe, and written in a French hand. Both these Karlsruhe MSS. belonged formerly to the monastery of Reichenau.

The readings of these MSS. are given in the notes: those of the Bâle MS. are denoted by the letter B.; and those of the two Karlsruhe MSS. in the order in which they are spoken of above, by the letters K. and R. The MS. B. has been collated by the Editor himself; but the readings of K. and R. are given on the authority of Mone.

None of these MSS. have the introductory Scholium or Preface, which is now for the first time printed, from the Dublin *Liber Hymnorum*; but in the Codex R. we find the title "*Himnus Sanctæ Mariæ*."

How far we can depend upon Mone's judgment in the opinion he has given of the age of these MSS. seems doubtful; for he assigns the Bâle MS. to the eighth century, which is at least a century, if not two centuries, older than the true date, so far as the Greek Psalter is concerned: and he does not seem to have observed that the Hymn *Cantemus* has been written in a hand of about two centuries' later date. Those who are not accustomed to Irish MSS. are very naturally disposed to make them older than they really are, because the Irish scribes retained the old forms of handwriting much longer than Continental transcribers.

The Scholium prefixed to the Hymn identifies the author of it with the "Cuchuimne sapiens," who is said by our Annalists to have died early in the

eighth century ; and the age of the MSS. in which the Hymn has been found confirms the high antiquity thus ascribed to it. In the Additional Note B the Editor has collected all that he has been able to discover of the history of Cuchuimne.

The classical reader will not form a high idea of our author's skill in Latin prosody. The following anomalies may be taken as specimens :—*Cantēmus*, line 1 ; *Utēro*, line 8 ; *Extētīt*, line 10 ; *Humāne*, line 12 ; *Mūtērem*, lines 13, 14 ; *Loricam*, line 21 ; *Pirā, dirā*, line 24.



CANTEMUS in omni die. Cuchuinne fecit hunc Smmum do molab Maíre oge. In aimpín imoprio loingris meico Oengura 7 Abamnan pactur ept. Inceptum ept uero in quo loco eum fecit. Ipe po chunn abenma bia roepab ap in bpoeh bea-chaib ip paba. quia coniugem habuit, 7 in mala uita cum illa fuit. no commat do pechigub nemi an eich na bpoacht leir bia leguib do gnech immolabpa do Maíre.

Uc Abamnan dixit:

Cuchuinne [Cuchuinne], Ro leg fuche co bpuinne,
Allech aile apata, Ro leic ap a challecha.

Cuchuinne dixit:

Cuchuinne [Cuchuinne], Ro leg fuche co bpuinne,
Allech aile apata, Legpab leicpab canlecha.

Uel,

Allech naile apateui, Legpab huile conop fui.

Epe nichm dan fecit. 7 xiii. coibcail ann, 7 ba line in each coibcail, 7 xii. pillaba each line.

ANTEMUS IN OMNI DIE CONCINENTES VARIE
CONCLAMANTES DEO DIGNUM SMMUM SANCTAE MARIAE
his per chorum hinc et inde collaudemus mariam
ut uox pulset omnem aurem per laudem uicariam
maria de tribu iudae summi mater domini
oportunam debet curam egrotanti homini

Gloss.—1. *Varie*.—i. inter duos choros. 2. *Mariae*.—Maria stilla maris interpretatur; et significat ecclesiam inventam in amaritudine seculi.

1. *Concinentes*.—Concinantes, B. Concinantes varie, B. R.

2. *Mariae*.—See the note, p. 126, *supra*.

3. *Chorum*.—Corum, B. The ancient custom of alternate singing is here alluded

to. 4. *Collaudemus*.—Collaudamus, B. Conlaudamus, K. Conlaudemus, R.

5. *Judae*.—Juda, B. *Summi*.—Summa, B. R.

6. *Egrotanti*.—This seems an allusion

Δabriel aduexit uerbum sinu patris paterno
 quod conceptum et susceptum in utero materno
haec est summa haec est sancta uirgo uenerabilis
 quae ex fide non recessit sed exstetit stabilis 10
huic matri nec inuenta ante nec post similis
 nec de prole fuit plane humanae originis
per mulierem et lignum mundus prius perijt
 per mulieris uirtutem ad salutem redijt
maria mater miranda patrem suum edidit 15
 per quem aqua late lotus totus mundus credidit
haec concepit margaretam non sunt uana somnia
 pro qua sani cristiani uendunt sua omnia

GLOS.—7. *Verbum*.—i. annuntiationem uerbi, .i. ave maria plena gratia. 8. *Conceptum*.—i. di-
 uina operante potentia credentis viscera fecundantur. 13. *Lignum*.—i. preuaticationis. 15. *Patrem*.—
 .i. omnium creator de creatura sua procreatur. Fons uitae de riuulo suo oritur. Uitis uera de uirgultu
 suo nascitur, et in ligno mortali arbor uitae inseritur, et porta in se uirtus ab infirmis portatur.
 17. *Margaretam*.—i. Christum.

to some legend, unless we take *homini* to signify mankind in general.

7. *Patris*.—Prius, B. R. An obvious error. *Paterno*.—Paternae, R.

8. *Utero*.—The second syllable is here long.

9. *Quae*.—Hæc fide, R.

10. *Exstetit*.—The second syllable is long.

11. *Huic*.—This word is here a dissyllable. *Matri*.—Matre, R. *Inuenta*.—Inuentam, R.

12. *Prole*.—Flore, R. *Plane*.—Plana, R. *Humane originis*.—This appears strange language, not very consistent with the doctrine of the Incarnation, if we are to take the words in their literal meaning—that the Blessed Virgin was not of mere

human nature (*plane*). The preceding line is not unlike the words of St. Anselm, quoted by Mone: "Nihil est æquale Mariæ, nihil nisi Deus majus Maria."—*Opp. S. Anselmi, Orat.* 51. [*Ed. Bened. Paris.* 1721, p. 281, col. 1. E.]

15. *Maria*.—This stanza, vv. 15, 16, is omitted by B. *Patrem suum*.—So in the Hymn beginning *Dies læta celebratur* (Daniel *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 212) there is the same idea:—

"Nova prorsus genitura
 Creatorem creatura
 Patrem parit filia."

16. *Lotus*.—Lota, R.

17. *Margaretam*.—Margaritam, B. *Hec*.—Quæ, R. Mone erroneously gives *Quæ* as the reading of B.

TONICAM per totum textam cristi mater fecerat
quae peracta cristi morte sorte statim steterat 20

INBUAMUS arma lucis lorica et galeam
ut simus deo prefecti suscepti per mariam

AMEN amen abiuramus merita puerperae
ut non possit flamma pirae nos virae decipere

Gloss.—19. *Tunicam*.—Coigneur hincap imlibap [a suitable, long tunic]. *Totum*.—i. corpus. *Textam*.—i. oen uam and ecip [without any seam in it at all]. 20. *Sorte*.—i. sine partitione. 21. *Loricam*.—Lorica dicta eo quod loris caret. 22. *Amen*.—i. vere, vel fideliter. *Puerpera*.—i. puerum pariens in utero pueri, id est in decimo vel in xi. 24. *Pirae*.—i. e. in nabriat gpanna [the ugly torch].

19. *Tunicam*.—Tunicam, K. Matt. Paris. *Hist. Angl.* p. 80, mentions this tradition: "A. D. MCLVI. in pago Parisiacensi, monasterio Argentillo, revelatione divina, tunica Salvatoris inconsutiles et subconfusci coloris reperta est, quam sicut litterae cum ea repertae indicabant, gloriosa Mater ejus fecerat ei dum adhuc puer esset." Other authorities tell us that it was found in a village called Zaphah, not far from Jerusalem, A. D. 593, in the time of Pope Gregory I. See Jo. Iperii *Chron. S. Bertini*, part iii. (ap. Martene et Durand. *Thes. Anecd.* tom. iii. 451 E.), and *Brevia aliquot Chronica* (*ibid.* 1391 C.). But these Chronicles make no mention of any letters found with it, or of its having been wrought by the hands of the B. Virgin. Neither is that tradition mentioned by Adamnan in his Tract *De locis sanctis*; but it is adopted by Baronius (*Annal.* A. D. 34, n. cxii.), Benedict XIV. (*De Festis Domini*, I. vii. 91. *Opp. tom. ix.* p. 82), and many other theologians. The earliest writer quoted for this tradition is Euthymius Zygabenus, who says: "Hanc

vero tunicam e traditione patrum accepimus opus fuisse Dei Matris a superioribus partibus contextam, veluti sunt apud nos capitis aut pedum hyemalia operimenta."—*Comment. in Quat. Evang.* in Matt. xxvii. 35 (*Bibl. Patr. Lugdun.*, tom. xix. p. 588, E.). This author flourished at the beginning of the twelfth century; so that the present Hymn is a much older authority. *Totum*.—Totum, B. *Christi*.—Christo, K.

21. *Loricam*.—Luricam, B. *Lurica*, R. *Et galeam*.—Vicariae, R.

22. *Prefecti*.—Perfecti, B.

23. *Adjuramus*.—Adoramus, K. *Adoremus*, R. In R. the last two stanzas are reduced to one; thus:

"Amen, amen, adoremus, angelis sub testibus,
Ut fruamur et scribamur litteris celestibus;"

the intervening clauses being omitted. *Puerperae*.—The gloss on this word seems to allude to the legend in the *Evangelium de Nativ. Mariae*, the *Proteangelium Jacobi*, &c., that Mary was dedicated to God at three years of age, and lived in the temple until ten or eleven years old.

Χ̄ΡΙ NOMEN INVOCEMUS ANGELIS SUB TESTIBUS
UT PRUAMUR ET SCRIPAMUR LITERIS CELESTIBUS.

25

CANTEMUS.

SANCTÆ MARIÆ MERITUM IMPLORAMUR DIGNISSIMUM
UT MERIAMUR SOLUM HABITARE ALTISSIMUM.

Gloss.—26. *Literis*.—i. in memoria Dei.24. *Decerpere*.—Decerpere, B.

26. *Scripamur*.—Scribamur, B. The gloss on this verse intimates, that to be written “literis celestibus” signifies that we are written in the memory of God.

27. *Sanctæ Mariæ*.—It is evident that in these lines (omitted in R. and K.) there is a rude rhythm, or assonance, and each line consists of eight syllables:—

“Sanctæ Mariæ meritum
Imploramus dignissimum,
Ut mereamur solum,
Habitare [Habere, B.] altissimum.”

In the Bâle MS. we find here the fol-

lowing Collect, in the later handwriting:—

“Singularis meriti, sola sine exemplo, Mater et Virgo Maria, quam Deus ita mente et corpore custodivit, ut digna existes ex qua sibi nostræ redemptionis pretium Dei Filius corpus adaptaret; obsecro te misericordissima per quam totus salvatur mundus, intercede pro me spurcissimo, et cunctis iniquitatibus foedo, ut qui ex meis iniquitatibus nil aliud dignus sum quam æternum subire supplicium, tuis Virgo spendidissima salvatus meritis perenne consequar regnum.”

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE following is a translation of the Scholium or Preface to this Hymn, which is in the usual mixture of Irish and Latin:—

Cantemus in omni die.—Cuchuinne composed this Hymn in praise of the Virgin Mary. Now it was in the time of Loingsech, son of Oengus^a, and of Adamnan, it was composed. It is uncertain, however, in what place he composed it. This was the reason why he composed it, to deliver himself from the evil life he was leading, quia conjugem^b habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit. Or it was to facilitate his progress in what he had not yet completed of his studies, that he made this praise of Mary. As Adamnan said:—

Cuchuinne, [Cuchuinne].

Read learned writings half way^c.

The other half of his career

He abandoned for his women.

^a *Loingsech, son of Oengus.*—He was king of Ireland, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology, from A. D. 695 to 704, and was killed in the battle of Corann, county of Sligo, in this latter year. Dr. O'Connor's Tigernach gives 703 as the date of this battle, which, however, ought to be 704, for he adds:—"iv. id. Julii, vi. hora diei Sabbati hoc bellum confectum est." In 704, the 4th of the Ides of July fell on Saturday; in 703 on Thursday: therefore it is evident that Tigernach intended the year 704. The Four Masters give the date 701, which is irreconcilable with the day of the week on which Tigernach (doubtless from some ancient authority) tells us the battle was fought. Adamnan died the same year, 704. Usner, *Index Chron.*

^b *Conjugem.*—Meaning, it is to be presumed, *Concubinam*. *Vid.* Adamnan, *Vit. S. Col.* (ed. Reeves), pp. 75-77.

^c *Cuchuinne.*—In the original this word occurs but once; but it was evidently intended to be repeated, as the metre requires; see page 82; *supra*, note ^o. Dr. O'Donovan overlooked this when he printed these verses in his edition of the Four Masters, A. D. 742.

^d *Halfway.*—Co dhruinne is literally "to the ridge," i. e. to the top or ridge of a hill, which is half way across. The meaning is, that Cuchuinne spent one-half of his time in the study of learned authors, or that he had perused one-half of the learned writers, when he abandoned himself to an irregular life.

Cuchimne said [in reply]—

Cuchimne [Cuchimne],
Read learned writings half way.
The other half of his career^{*}
He will read,—he will abandon[†] women.

Or,

The other half of his career—
He will read them all until he becomes a sage.

He composed it in rhythm; and there are thirteen chapters in it; and two lines in each chapter; and twelve syllables in each line.

The verses, here attributed to Adamnan, are transcribed in a hand of the fourteenth century, in the margin of the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster*, at A. D. 746; but are there attributed, not to Adamnan, but to the *Nurse* of Cuchimne: they are given thus:—

Muime Con-cuimne cecinit:—

Cucumne [Cuchimne],
Ro leg fairs co bpuimne,
Allach naill hiafa
Ro leic ap cailleoa.

Gn do Concuimne pombol,
Impuialab be comt poi,
Ro leic caillecha ha pail
Ro leig aluill apach mboi.

The Nurse of Cuchimne sang:—

Cuchimne! [Cuchimne!]
He read learned writings half way;
The other half of his career
He abandoned for women.

Happy is it for Cuchimne,
He has gone forward until he has become a sage;
He has abandoned women to neglect;
He has read the other half of his victorious life.

This seems to be a more ancient form of this curious distich than either of the two texts of it which are given above, or than that of the *Four Masters*, at A. D. 742, which is as follows, with Dr. O'Donovan's translation (the metrical arrangement being corrected to correspond with the above):—

^{*} *Career*.—The word *poia* may be the genitive case of *poit*, prosperity, increase, progress, advancement; but Dr. O'Donovan has rendered it "career" (*Four Mast.* A. D. 742), taking it to be *poia* running, racing;—course, career.

[†] *He will abandon*.—The play upon the words *po leg* "he read," and *po leic*, "he abandoned," is evidently the point of the first stanza; and so in

Cuchimne's answer there is a play upon *po leg*, "he read," *leigpao*, "he will read," and *leigpib*, "he will leave, dismiss, or abandon." It is not to be supposed that these verses can be really the composition of Adamnan; and accordingly the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster* attributes them, not to Adamnan, but to Cuchimne's nurse; showing that he was not known with certainty to be the author.

Cucuimne, [Cucuimne],
 Ro léig fáiche co bpuimne,
 Allech aile appatha,
 Ro lecc ap a charllecha.

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Read the authors half through;
 The other half of his career
 He abandoned for his hags.

Fhirceap Cucuimne:—

Cuchuimne replied:—

Cucuimne, [Cucuimne],
 Ro léig fáiche co bpuimne,
 Allech aile apath cuí,
 Léigfaib huite copop rui.

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Read the authors half through;
 During the other half of his career
 He will read till he become an adept.

The meaning, however, in all these readings of the couplet is the same: that Cuchuimne, after spending some years in scholar-like study, was seduced into a life of profligacy; but that he at length, on the remonstrance of his friends, abandoned his vices, and resumed with zeal, for the remainder of his life, the studies becoming an ecclesiastic.

The reader will not fail to remark, that there is great internal evidence of truth in this record of the weakness of Cuchuimne. No mere inventor of legends would have narrated such an event in the life of a writer whom he was quoting as the author of a religious Hymn. See the remarks already made on this subject, p. 92, *supra*.

NOTE B.

History of Cuchuimne.

THE information given us in the Preface, or Scholium, prefixed to the Hymn, and translated in the foregoing note, contains nearly all the information we possess respecting Cuchuimne. He is there said to have lived in the reign of Loingseach Mac Aengusa (who was King of Ireland, A. D. 695 to 703), and appears to have survived that monarch some years. The *Annals of Ulster* record his death at the year 746, in these words: "Cu-cumine" [read *Cucuimne*, as in the Dublin MS.] "sapiens obiit." Tighearnach [Dublin MS.] seems to have made the year 747, and gives the obit thus: "Cuimine sapiens obiit." The *Four Masters* give the date 742, and translate, apparently from the Ulster Annals, thus:—

Cucuimne^a eccnaib coígaib eiríbe do ecc. "Cucuimne, he was a choice sage, died."

They then quote the same verses which are given by the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, attributing them, as that Book does, to Adamnan.

^a *Cucuimne*.—*Cucuimne* is the reading in Dr. O'Donovan's text, but it seems to be an error of the press; for the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, reads *Cuchuimne*.

From these verses (see Note A), it appears that Cuchuimne for a time had led an irregular life, "quia conjugem habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit." But during the latter part of his life he repented, and the present Hymn may be received as an evidence that his thoughts were sincerely occupied in holy things. His name does not occur in any of the Irish Calendars or Martyrologies, notwithstanding which, Colgan does not hesitate to give him the title of *saint*.

The name Cu-chuimne [signifying *Hound of Memory*^b] is not of frequent occurrence in Irish Church history, although Cummine, Cummeni, Cummain, which are, perhaps, forms of the same name, are more frequent. Colgan^c has given the following account of the author of this Hymn:—"Sanctus Cuchumneus (qui, addito *Mo* more Hibernis familiari, potuit *Mochumneus* appellari), floruit juste tempore Sancti Aidi Sleptensis, anno 698 mortui. Hic enim in laudem Deiparæ Virginis composuit Hymnum, penes me extantem, qui incipit;

^a *Cantemus in omni die, concinnantes varis,
Conclamantes Deo dignum hymnum S. Maria.*

Et ut colligitur ex argumento eidem Hymno præfixo, author floruit tempore Adamnani Abbatis, et Longseai Hiberniæ Regis, qui cœpit regnare anno 694. Vixit tamen postea usque ad annum 746, quo Annales Ultonienses referunt *Cucumneum Sapientem* obiisse; vel saltem usque ad annum 724 [read 742], in quem ejus mortem referunt Quatuor Magistri in Annalibus."—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 218, b. This, however, the reader will perceive, gives us no information beyond what we have already gleaned from the authorities cited above: and Colgan has suppressed all mention of Cuchuimne's irregular life, although he declares him to have been contemporary with Adamnan, to whom the verses rebuking that irregularity are, in the Book of Hymns, ascribed. He must, therefore, have seen those verses.

NOTE C.

Maria Stilla Maris.

THE Gloss on the name *Maria* (ver. 2, p. 139, *supra*, and also in the preceding Hymn, ver. 17, p. 126), interprets the name as signifying in Hebrew "*Stilla maris*," from מֵרַ, a drop, and יָם, the sea. See above, p. 126, note.

^b *Hound of Memory*.—"Hound" was an honourable title amongst the ancient Irish. The name may perhaps be equivalent to the mediæval name *Memorius*, or *Memoriensis*.

^c *Colgan*.—Harris (Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, p. 46) has mistaken this passage of Colgan. Colgan does not identify *Mocuthenius* with the author of this Hymn, nor does he say "that Uscher had

mistaken the name." He was speaking of the *Maccuthenius*, or *Mochumneus*, who is said to have written *Acts of St. Patrick*; and he says that, allowing for the Irish custom of prefixing *Mo*, my, to the names of saints, there are two or three saints whose names are mentioned in Irish history (of whom our author is one), any one of whom may have been the biographer of St. Patrick.

Nothing is more common in the orthography of Irish MSS. of the eighth and following centuries, than to find *e* for *i*, as *ancella*, for *ancilla*; *antestes*, for *antistes*, &c.; and also *i* for *e*, as *adoliscens*, *bibliothica*, &c. (see Reeves' *Pref. to Adamnan's Life of Columba*, pp. xvi. xvii.) And in the present case it seems almost certain that the ancient authors who devised this etymology for the Hebrew proper name *Miriam*, (which was Latinized *Maria*), intended *Stilla maris*, "a drop of the sea," and not *stella*, "a star of the sea;" the former having some foundation in Hebrew, the latter none. And the common confusion in the orthography of the period, together with the general ignorance of Hebrew, has led to the popular adoption of the more poetical designation of "star," instead of "drop," of the sea. Modern writers, although they very generally explain this allusion to the sea, as if *Maria* was derived from the Latin *Mare*, by a further confusion, leave *stella* unexplained. See Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. i. p. 205. There can be little doubt, therefore, that St. Jerome, when he interprets *Miriam*, "*Stella maris*" (see the passage quoted above, p. 126), wrote and meant *stilla*, "a drop of the sea," and that *stella* is a mistake of his transcribers or editors. Nevertheless, this error has prevailed, and is adopted in many ecclesiastical hymns in use at the present day; e. g. in the celebrated one—"Ave maris stella, Dei Mater alma," which is still retained in the Roman Breviary. And so also in the Hymn beginning—"Salve Mater Salvatoris" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. ii. p. 83) we have the lines—

"O Maria, stella maris, Dignitate singularis,
Super omnes ordinis, Ordines coelestium."

And the same interpretation is given to the name by almost all mediæval writers, of whom it may suffice to quote St. Bernard (in *Homil. ii. super Misericordia est*, n. 17)—"*Loquimur pauca*" (he says) "*super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum Maria stella dicitur, et Matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparatur,*" &c.—*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, iii. p. 742.

Nevertheless, the word *stilla* was known to these writers as signifying "a drop," which is evident from the Hymn beginning "O felicem genitricem" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 205), in which these lines occur:—

"O mamilla cujus stilla fuit ejus pabulum,
Qui dat terræ fructum ferre, pascit omne sæculum."

It may be observed, that in the interpretations of proper names given in the ancient Irish Gospels called the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, *Maria* is explained *stilla* (not *stella*) *maris*. We have, likewise, "*Maria stilla maris*," *Book of Armagh*, fol. 32, aa. See also line 14 of the following Hymn, where we read, "*Tunc magi stellam secuti*," showing that the scribe of the Book of Hymns did not confound *stilla* and *stella*.

VII. THE HYMN OF ST. HILARY IN PRAISE OF CHRIST.

THIS Hymn was first published by George Cassander, who says that he found it in an ancient volume which contained the rule of St. Benedict, and several Hymns¹. He notes it "incerto auctore."

It occurs also in the *Antiphonarium Benchorensis*, and has been printed by Muratori² from that MS.

It has also been reprinted recently, from the text of Cassander, by Daniel, in his *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. i. p. 191.

In the Bangor Antiphonary this Hymn stands first, with the title "*Hymnum*³ *S. Hilarii de Christo*."

The Preface in the Book of Hymns, now for the first time published, expressly names St. Hilary of Poitiers, and the authority of these two ancient MSS. is sufficient to prove that the tradition of the Irish Church attributed the authorship of the Hymn to that prelate.

Bede⁴ quotes this Hymn in his Tract *De arte metrica* (cap. 23), and gives the first two lines as an example of the "Metrum Trochaicum tetrametrum;" he ascribes it to no author, but simply styles it "*Hymnus ille pulcherrimus*," as if it was then well known.

If the Hymn had been the composition of so celebrated a personage as

¹ "*Hymns*.—Repertum in vetustissimo libro Benedicti regulam cum hymnis continente, unde et plerisque alios desumpsimus."—*Hymni Ecclesiast.* (Opp., Paris, 1616 fol.) p. 186.

² *Muratori*.—See above, p. 7.

³ *Hymnum*.—Muratori, in his transcript of the Bangor MS., gives *Hymnum* throughout as a neuter nominative. This, no doubt, is a

mistake, arising from his not understanding the contraction "*Hymn3*," which is *Hymnus*. His want of familiarity with Irish MSS. has led him into several similar errors, and there is reason to think that he has altered the ancient original spelling of the MS. to bring it into conformity with the received orthography.

⁴ *Bede*.—See Additional Note at the end of this Hymn.

Hilary of Poitiers, it is not likely that Bede could have been ignorant of the fact, or, knowing it, that he would have omitted to name the author, inasmuch as he gives frequently the names of the authors of the hymns he quotes, such as Sedulius, Prudentius, St. Ambrose, Paulinus, &c., many of them obscure, when compared with St. Hilary of Poitiers.

It is to be observed, also, that the Hymn seems to contain allusions to a monastic society, and if so, cannot have been the composition of an author who lived before the institution of the cœnobic life in the Western Church. For instance, the first line, "*Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*;" line 65, "*Ante lucem turba fratrum concinemus gloriam*;" and line 71, "*Ante lucem decantantes*."

It may be said that "*turba fratrum*" does not necessarily imply a society of "friars," in the modern sense of the word. For in the Hymn¹ "*Lauda Syon Salvatorem*," attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas, we have the lines:—

"Quem in sacræ mensa cœnæ
Turba fratrum duodenæ
Datum non ambigitur."

where *Turba fratrum* evidently signify the twelve Apostles; but St. Thomas may have adopted the phraseology of a later age, wherein the Apostles were not unfrequently spoken of as a sort of monastic confraternity; and the passages of the present Hymn, above referred to, plainly speak of a *Turba fratrum* living together, and rising before the dawn, to sing together the praises of God, in evident allusion to a monastic society.

On the other hand, the fourth Council of Toledo² (A. D. 633) speaks of hymns at that time in use in the Church, "*quos beati Doctores Hilarius et Ambrosius ediderunt*;" so that there were hymns³ then attributed to, or

¹ *Hymn*.—Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnologic.*, vol. ii. p. 97.

² *Toledo*.—Can. 13 (Hardouin, Concil., tom. iii. 583 D).

³ *Hymns*.—It would seem that there was then a feeling in the Spanish Church not unlike that of the modern English Puritans; for the canon of the Council of Toledo here referred to is directed against some who objected to use in the Church service hymns

which were not to be found in the Scriptures, nor of apostolic tradition: "*quos [hymnos] tamen quidem specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt*." The Council answers, that the same objection would apply to the prayers, collects, and the whole liturgy of the Church, and therefore concludes, "*excommunicatione plectendi qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi*."—*ubi supra*.

known to be the composition of St. Hilary,¹ which are no longer known as such; and St. Jerome expressly mentions a *Liber Hymnorum*, by St. Hilary, as extant in his time². This, however, would only render it more probable that a hymn, whose author was unknown, should be attributed to an author who was known to have composed hymns, and whose name stood high in the Church. There is, therefore, in the fact that St. Hilary wrote hymns, nothing to weaken the force of the arguments above alluded to; especially when we observe that the style of the present Hymn is rude and unpolished, and in no way similar to that of St. Hilary's acknowledged writings³.

The Legend recorded in the Scholiast's Preface⁴ seems to connect the Hymn with Hilary of Arles, who flourished in the middle of the fifth century, rather than with Hilary of Poitiers. For in his time the monastic life had begun in the West, and he is said to have crossed the Alps on foot, in order to plead his cause before Pope Leo⁵.

Be this, however, as it may, it is not to be doubted that the present Hymn is a composition of great antiquity. Its doctrine is throughout in accordance with that of the primitive Church, and its language and diction are consistent with an early date. It may probably be assigned to the fifth or sixth century.

¹ *S. Hilary*.—Isidore, Bishop of Seville, tells us that St. Hilary, of Poitiers, was the first Christian author of hymns: "Sunt autem Divini Hymni, sunt et ingenio humano compositi. Hilarius, autem, Gallus, Episcopus Pictaviensis, eloquentia conspicuus, carmine floruit primus. Post quem Ambrosius Episcopus, vir magnæ gloriæ in Christo, et in ecclesia clarissimus doctor," &c.—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis*, i. c. 6, n. 2 (*Opp.* ed. Arevalo, tom. vi. p. 369. Romæ, 1802).

² *In his time*.—*De viris illustr.*, c. 100 (*Opp.*

tom. ii. ed. Vallarsii).

³ *Writings*.—This seems to have been Muratori's opinion, for in his preface to the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* he says: "At in Hymno nunc a nobis producto majorem fortasse elegantiam desiderabunt nonnulli, ut eum S. Hilario adscribant."—*Opere* (Arezzo, 1770), tom. xi. part 3, p. 222.

⁴ *Preface*.—See p. 162, *infra*.

⁵ *Pope Leo*.—See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. xv. p. 72 (*Vie de S. Hilaire*, art. 15), and the authorities there quoted.



QMNUM DICAT. hilariur Episcopur 7 princeps ciuitatis que dicitur Pietaur
fecit hunc Qmnum Christo in monte Gargani, iap comale na phanne illie
icegaur ind latrand. Ocur iap na elugub buide do Dia po chinpat in meis
bfehaib port conapbat mo quam infantez. amal capfaprein do facurp boi occo.
Tanic angel 7 arbert ppiu. nri penitenciam egerit in infernum ibitir.
egorunt ergo penitenciam 7 debet Deur intulgentiam eir per ipam laudem.
pio nobis conuenit canone port prandium.

Aucep, locur .i. ppecur in peccone montis iour inter Alper in qua philophi [sic] antea
puerunt. Tempur, Valentiani 7 Valentir. Peppona hilariur. Caura .i. Angelur
porculauit quando uenit ad Supannam urbem cum episcopis uirip .i. .c. de
clericis, 7 .cc. de laicis. Unur uero de clericis mortuur ere pro frigore hiemir,
7 hilariur opauit pro suo monacho. illa autem nocte angelur dixit ad eum,
debet te pceptari pcepturap 7 qmnum facere Deo. Ille autem fecit iuxta
imperium angeli, 7 mortuum purretauit per gratiam Dei.

Mecum epiochum cecraetum bre. hio pcepit pponbeum omnibus locis, ppaetp
cepitum locum, 7 epochia omnibus locis. in quo aliquando ceptio loco ppiopir
uerpculi pponbeum pcepier. ut factop celi 7 cernae factop. 7 uerpir
purgat lepraos morbum. Currat autem alcepnir uerpirur ica ut ppiop uerpirur
habeat peber .iii. portepior uero .iii. 7 pillabam.

Qmnur Grece, laur interppetatur Latine, uel qmnur memoria dicitur, pcut in
pralcepio Greco Qmnor ceptmon. hoo ere memop puit nofepi. 7 ip do molat De
in campub arbir qmnur 7 ip pordinnur canair ut Agurcinur dicit ip na deccatib.

Qmnor ppium Dauid pprofeta in laudem Dei compoipit manifestum
ere.

QMNUM dicat turba fratrum qmnum cantus personet
christo regi concinentes laudem demus debitam

Gloss.—1. *Hymnum.*—i. laudem. *Fratrum.*—i. in Christo. *Cantus.*—i. nominati-
rus. 2. *Concinentes.*—i. a verbo concino .i. a oomchanam [we sing together]. *Demus.*—
i. laudes demus debitas.

1. *Ymnus dicat.*—For a trans-
lation of the Preface, see Addi-
tional Note, p. 162. The various readings
of the Antiphonarium Benchorense have
been marked B. in the following notes :

those of Cassander, C. *Fratrum.*—Fido-
lium, B., which does not suit the metre.
Bede reads *Fratrum.* See Addit. Note.

2. *Concinentes.*—Concinnentur, B., an
evident mistake. *Laudem.*—Laudes, B.C.

Tu dei de corde uerbum tu uia tu ueritas
iesse uirga tu uocaris te leonem legimus.

Dextra patris mons et agnus angularis tu lapis,
sponsus idem et columba flamma pastor ianua.

In prophetis inueniris nostro natus saeculo
ante saecula tu fuisti factor primi saeculi

Factor caeli et terrae factor congregator tu maris
omniumque tu creator quae pater nasci iubet

Uirginis receptus membris gabrielis nuntio
crescit albus prole sancta nos monemur credere

Rem nouam nec ante uisam uirgine puerpera
tunc magi stellam secuti primi adorant paruulum

Gloss.—3. *De corde*.—i. de secreto Diuinitatis. *Verbum*.—i. filius. *Via*.—Ut dicitur Ego sum uia et ueritas et uita; et iterum Nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me. 4. *Iesse*.—i. genitus. *Virga*.—Ut dicitur Exeat uirga de radice iesse. *Leonem*.—Ut dicitur Vicit leo de tribu iuda. 5. *Dextra*.—i. uita eterna. *Mons*.—Ut dicitur Erit in novissimis diebus preparatus mons. *Agnus*.—i. Ecce agnus Dei qui tollis peccatum mundi. *Lapis*.—i. Lapidem quem reproba[uerunt] 6. *Sponsus*.—i. sicut sponsus procedens de thalamo suo *El*.—i. Deus. *Columba*.—Ut dicitur, Sponsa mea, columba mea. *Pastor*.—i. Ego sum pastor bonus, et iterum, Ego sum ianua per me si quis intraverit saluabitur. 7. *Nostra*.—i. in nouo testamento. *Saecula*.—i. ante omnia saecula. 8. *Fuisti*.—i. per temetipsum qui es sine initio et sine fine. *Primi saeculi*.—i. mundi creatio in principio, secundum saeculum quando reformabitur in fine saeculi, aliter primum saeculum creatio Adae in principio mundi, secundum saeculum formatio hominis per Christum. 10. *Omniumque*.—i. elementorum; ut dicit Iohannes Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. *Iubet*.—i. fiat lux et facta est lux. 11. *Gabrielis*.—i. aue Maria gratia plena, ecce concipies et paries filium et uocabis nomen eius Iesum. 12. *Albus*.—i. Mariae. 13. *Puerpera*.—i. puerum prius parens, vel in aetate pueri parens Christum, .i. in x^o. vel in xii^o. anno. 14. *Magi*.—i. quasi magis gnari, qui philosophauerunt in omni re; ut est, Ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt Hier

The remainder of this line, the last six words of line 3, and the whole of line 4, are wanting in B., from a defect in the MS. *Debitum*.—Debitas, B. C.

5. *Dextra*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Dextra Dei dicitur quia sicut facit aliquis omnia quae uult per dexteram, sic Deus Pater omnia fecit per Christum. Ideo Columba dicitur propter simplicitatem suam. Flamma, ut dicitur, Deus meus flamma deuorans et ignis consumens."

6. *Idem el*.—Idem vel, B. C. But the reading "idem El" is undoubtedly correct. *El* is the Hebrew אל, *God*, as the Gloss explains it. (See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, vii. i. n. 3.)

7. *Prophetis*.—Prophetis, B. C.

9. *El terra*.—Terræ, B. C.

11. *Gabrielis*.—Gabriele, C.

12. *Albus*.—Evidently meaning *Albus*, as the Gloss proves. *Albus* is the reading of B. C. The remainder of this, and the next four lines, are effaced in B.

OFFERENTES TUS ET AURUM DIGNA REGI MUNERA
 mox ERODI NUNTIATUM INUIDENS POTENTIAE 15

TUM IUBET PARUOS NECARI TURBAM PECIT MARTIRUM
 PERTUR INFANS OCULENDUS NILI PLUMEN QUO FLUIT

QUI REPERTUR POST ERODEM NUTRIENDUS NAZARETH
 multa parvus multa adultus signa pecit celitus 20

QUAE LATENT ET QUAE LEGUNTUR CORAM MULTIS TESTIBUS
 praedicans celeste regnum dicta factis approbat

Gloss.—15. *Offerentes*.—i. ap a chumbi na tucc mippam. no ni challa and in ueppu [it was for brevity he did not introduce myrrh; or it would not fit in the verse], vel quia postea dicitur. 16. *Nuntiatum*.—i. opus nascendi. *Inuidens*.—i. Herodes. *Potentia*.—i. Christi. 17. *Iubet*.—i. Herodes. *Paruos*.—Cερε. cia lin na mac pabbe pocher punb la hepoib [ni-hantpa, Question; what is the number of the children here put to death by Herod? The answer is not difficult] duo milia .c. xl. ut Gregorius manifestat in sacramentario. 18. *Fertur*.—i. ducitur. Quatuor annis fuit Christus in Egipto fugiens Herodem. Eliopolis .i. solis civitas, nomen civitatis in qua Christus in Egipto habitavit. Eleos, sol, polis, civitas, interpretatur. Ubi ut aiunt in die adventus illius in urbem omnia idola ejus comminuta sunt. Affrodus vero nomen principis illius qui Christum et parentes ejus benigne suscepit. 19. *Refertur*.—i. beppai [is related]. *Post Erodem*.—i. post mortem Herodia. 20. *Parvus*.—i. parvulus. *Adultus*.—i. an po ponbuin [as he grew]. *Celitus*.—i. per virtutem celestem. 21. *Quae latent*.—i. in na hi naö peppa [the things that are not known]. *Leguntur*.—i. na hi po peppa [the things that are known]. *Testibus*.—i. apostolorum et discipulorum.

13. *Virgine puerpera*.—Virginem puerperam. C.

14. *Primi*.—In the upper margin of the page (p. 13 of the MS.) is a note on this word, which is in some places illegible. The following is all that can now be deciphered:—" Primi .i. na hupgoe [the shepherds]; vel Primi ex gentibus hi fuerunt, quia prius ante eos adoraverant eum pastores, ante xiii. . . . iuxta turrin Gadder. Moleho eorum senior qui aurum Deo regi obtulit. Secundus Caspar juvenis qui tus Deo obtulit. Tertius Pati[farsat qui] mirram homini obtulit. Unde quidam dixit:—

Melchap einnachrab ind oip;
 Carppan tucc in cur bimoin;
 Paepappac euc in mip mach;
 Conapappac bonb niglaich.

[Melchar was the presenter of the gold;
 Caspar brought the costly frankincense;
 Patifarsat brought the goodly myrrh;
 And they offered them to the royal Lord.]

Gregorius. Auro sapientia designatur. Ture autem quod Deo incenditur virtus orationis exprimitur. Per mirram carnis nostrae mortificatio figuratur. Nos itaque nato Domino offeramus aurum, ut hunc ubique regnare fateamur. Offeramus tus ut credamus quod is qui in tempore apparuit Deus ante tempora extitit. Offeramus mirram ut eum quem credimus in sua divinitate impassibilem, credamus etiam in nostra fuisse mortali carne." This citation, with some unimportant variations, will be found in the treatise of St. Gregory the Great, *In Evang.*, Lib. i. Hom. x. (Ed. Bened., tom. i. 1470. C.) See a curi-

Debiles facit uigere cecos luce illuminat
uerbis purgat leprae morbum mortuos resuscitat

Uinum quod deerat ibris motari aquam iubet
nuptiis mero retentis propinquando poculo

25

Pane quino pisce bino quinque pascit milia
et peperit fragmenta cenae ter caternis coruibus

Gloss.—25. *Idris*.—i. ap. na uipes leprearib [in the water vessels]. *Motari*.—i. a sua natura in vinum. 26. *Retentis*.—i. hominibus. *Propinando*.—i. quibus potabile in uap. pin [what had been distributed at that time]. *Poculo*.—i. sit poculum culum leprear [a vessel]. 27. *Pascit*.—i. Christus. *Milia*.—i. virorum, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis.

ous Irish poem on the Three Magi, published by Dr. Reeves from the Gospels of Macbrihtie, *Proceedings, R. I. Academy*, vol. v. p. 47. The custom of offering gold, frankincense, and myrrh, on the altar, on the feast of Epiphany, is still kept up at the royal chapel of St. James's Palace. *Parvulum*.—In the left-hand margin is this note:—"Pulcherrime munus sacramenta Iuuenus prospiter uno versiculo comprehendit:—

"Tus, aurum, mirram, regique, hominique, deoque,
Dona ferunt."

See Juvenci *Historia Evangelica*, lib. i. *Biblioth. Patrum* (Lugd. 1667), tom. iv. p. 57. F.

15. *Tus*.—Thus, C.

16. *Erodii*.—Herodi, C.

17. *Tum*.—Cum, B. The Gloss gives 2140 as the number of the martyred Innocents, on the authority of the Sacramentary of St. Gregory. But nothing of the kind is to be found in that work, as we now have it.

18. *Oculendus*.—Occulendus, B. Occidendus, C.

19. *Erodem*.—Herodem, B. C.

20. *Celitus*.—Coelitus, B. C. *Multa parvus*.—Alluding, probably, to the miracles said to have been wrought by our Lord during His infancy. See Thilo, *Codex Apocr.* N. T. (Lips. 1832). I. A. Fabricii, *Codex Apocr.* N. T. (Hamburgi, 1703), especially the *Evangelium Infantiae*.

21. *Quæ latent*.—Alluding to St. John xxi. 25.

22. *Approbat*.—Adprobat, B. *Dicta factis*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Dicta factis .i. vivificat mortuos, illuminat cecos."

23. *Facit*.—Fecit, B. C. *Cecos*.—Cæcos, B. *Illuminat*.—Inluminat, B.

24. *Morbum*.—Bede reads (*De arte metrica*, c. 23), "Verbis purgas lepræ morbos," where *purgas* is an evident mistake. *Mortuos resuscitat*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Tres tantum homines Christus suscitavit, i. Lazarus, et filia Jari principis sinagoge, atque filius viduæ. Hi tres homines significant peccata hominum. Filia principis, suscitata in cubiculo, significat peccatum cordis. Filius viduæ,

Turba ex omni discumbente iugem laudem pertulit
duodecim viros probavit per quos vita discitur

30

Ex quis unus invenitur christi iudas traditor
instruuntur nisi ab anna proditoris osculo

Innocens captus tenetur nec repugnans ducitur
sistitur falsis grassatur offerendus pontio

Gloss.—29. *Discumbente*.—i. ani o mōpazet ind ule buben [the thing from which the whole company was served]. Unde discus derivatur, i. mōp [a dish]. *Pertulit*.—i. Christus. 30. *Viros*.—i. apostolos. *Probat*.—i. elegit. *Vita*.—i. futura. 31. *Quis*.—i. apostolis. *Judas*.—i. ut Christus dixit Unus vestrum me traditurus est . . . vel oculum pacis et amoris et mortis est, ut iudas dixit Quemcumque osculatus fuero ipse est. 32. *Instruuntur*.—i. ab iudeis et sacerdotibus. *Nisi*.—i. latrones. 33. *Innocens*.—i. Christus. *Tenetur*.—i. apzambhnp [is seized]. 34. *Sistitur*.—i. ducitur. *Falsis*.—i. veris vel concivis. *Pontio*.—i. praesidi regis mundi.

suscitatus in ostio civitatis, significat peccatum verbi prolatum foris. Lazarus, suscitatus de sepulcro, significat peccatum actionis cum m[orte].” This interpretation was common in the middle ages; and may be found for substance in St. Gregory, *Moral.*, Lib. iv. 52 (*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, tom. i. 125, C.)

25. *Idris*.—Hidriis, B. Hydriis, C. *Molari*.—Mutari, B. C. Under each word in this line is a very small letter, thus:—

unum quod beepat tōpīp
mōcapi aquam iubeet

and similar letters occur in the next line, and elsewhere in several parts of the MS. They are evidently intended to mark the grammatical order of the words, for the sake of persons not familiarly acquainted with Latin. Taking the words in the order of the letters as above, the line reads thus: “Jubet aquam mutari quod deerat vinum hydriis.” This was pro-

bably deemed the more necessary in this line, because the construction leaves it doubtful whether “vinum mutari aquam” means “wine to be changed into water,” or “water to be changed into wine.”

26. *Mero retentis*.—Mærore tentis, C. An erroneous reading, which Daniel has inadvertently copied. *Propinnando*.—Propinato, C. *Poculo*.—Populo, B., probably a mistake of Muratori's transcript. This is the only word which he could read of the line; and the next two lines were also illegible to him in the MS.

27. *Pane quino*.—In the margin is the following note: “No bich [or it is] binus et quinus secundum veteres. Nunc autem bini et quini, ut Priscianus dicit.” See Priscian, *De Figuris numerorum*, c. vi. (*Opp. ed. Aug. Kriegl. Lips. 1820*, vol. ii. p. 398).

28. *Et fefert*.—C. gives this line thus: “Et refectis fragmenta cōne ter quaternis coribus.” *Caternis coruibus* in the

DISCUTIT obiecta praeses nullum cremen inuenit
sed cum turba iudeorum pro salute caesaris 35

DICERENT christum necandum turbis sanctus trahitur
impiis uerbis grassatur sputa plaga sustinet

SCANDERE crucem iubetur innocens pro noxiis
morte carnis quam gerebat mortem uicit omnium 40

TUM deum clamore magno patrem pendens inuocat
mors secuta membra christi laxat stricte uincula

Gloss.—35. *Obiecta*.—i. na taepra bopata pop Cyprie [the charges that were made against Christ]. *Inuenit*.—i. in Christo, ut dicitur Innocens ego sum a sa[nguine] iusti huius. 36. *Cesaris*.—Q[ui] ba taepra bopbe nomen regis [for the name of king was an insult to him] . . . regem esse dicebat. Cesar dictus a cemo [i. e. cemo] m[atris] utero. 37. *Turbis*.—i. iudeorum. *Traditur*.—i. Christus. 38. *Sputa*.—i. na paita [spittle]. *Plaga*.—i. na p[ro]p[ri]e [scourges]. 39. *Iubetur*.—i. a iudeis ut dicitur crucifigat crucifigat. *Noxiis*.—i. pro hominibus. 40. *Gerebat*.—i. portabat. *Omnium*.—i. hominum. 41. *Clamore*.—i. quando dixit Heli Heli et in manus tuas domine commendo. 42. *Stricte*.—i. nervi corporis Christi.

text is evidently an antiquated spelling of "quaternis corbibus;" and *sefert* is an error of transcription for "*refert*." *Corvibus*.—Over this word is the following note: "Curvus, epom [crooked, bent]; Corvus, piach [a raven]. Cophinus . . . quod est hic."

30. *Duodecim*.—To be read as a trisyllable, which is remarked by the scholiast in the following marginal annotation: "Lege dodecim sine .u. in scandendo."

31. *Quia*.—*Quia* [i. e. quibus], B. C., which would spoil the metre.

32. *Misi*.—*Misi*, B. C. On this word there is the following curious note in the margin: "Misi.—i. o Chaphar ip eb po paibepom [i. e. it was by Caiaphas he was sent], quia ille sacerdos fuit illius anni, sed causa metri dicit ab Anna, et in libris historiarum refertur quod .vii. fuissent principes inter Annam et Caifam,

sed filia Annas coniux fuit Caifas." Conf. S. John, xviii, 13. It is probable that the *Libri Historiarum* here quoted are a general reference to the Histories of Josephus, which were known in the middle ages from the abridgment under the name of Hegesippus, and the Latin version ascribed to Rufinus. It appears that there were exactly seven High Priests (inclusive) between the first priesthood of Annas and that of Caiaphas, in which our Lord was crucified. They are thus enumerated by Aug. Tornielli, *Annal. Sacr.*, tom. i. p. 384 (fol. Lucae, 1757):—

70. Ananus, qui et Annas, socer Caiaphas.

71. Ismael, Fabi f.

72. Eleazar, Avari f.

73. Simon, Camithi f.

74. Josephus, qui et Caiaphas.

75. Iterum Annas.

76. Iterum Caiaphas, ex quo Christus passus est.

The numbers signify that Annas was the

Ueta templi scisa pandunt nox obscurat saeculum
exercitur de sepulcris tubum clausa corpora

Affuit ioseph beatus corpus mirra perlutum
lintheo rubi ligatum cum dolore condidit 45

Milites seruare corpus annas princeps praecepit
ut uideret si probaret christus quod sponderet

Angelum dei tremantes ueste amictum candida
quo candore claritatis uellus uicit sericum 50

Gloss.—43. *Fela*.—i. ut dicitur Ecce velum templi scisum est in duas partes. *Nox*.—i. tenebrae sanctae sunt super uniuersam terram a sexta hora usque ad nonam horam. 44. *Exercitur*.—ut dicitur Multa corpora sanctorum resurrexerunt post resurrectionem suam, et apparuerunt multis in hierusalem. 45. *Affuit*.—i. venit diues ab arimathaea nomine ioseph. 46. *Rubi*.—i. novo. *Condidit*.—i. sepelivit. 47. *Milites*.—i. romanorum. *Annas*. i. pro caifa hic iterum annas dicitur. 48. *Sponderet*.—i. tertia die resurgere, et dicit iterum Solcite templum hoc et in triduo resuscitabo illud. 50. *Sericum*.—i. Seros i. nomen gentis a quo et sericum vestimentum

70th from Aaron, inclusive; Ismael the 71st, &c.

34. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C., who suggests *gravatur* in the margin. *Offerendus*.—Offerentes, B.

35. *Discutit*.—This line and the next are omitted in B. *Cremen*.—Crimen, C.

36. *Casaris*.—The Gloss, in a mixture of Irish and Latin, tells us that "the name of *King* was regarded as an insult by the Romans." Some words are illegible; but the meaning seems to be, that the name of "Caesar" came to be substituted for "King."

37. *Necandum*.—Negandum, B. C.

38. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C.

39. *Crucem*.—In the left-hand margin there is the following note: "Quare noluit Dominus alia morte mori nisi morte crucis, quia crux magnum miste-

rium habet. Si enim crux in terra proicitur per .iiii. ejus partes, .iiii. partes mundi demonstrat. In hoc voluit Dominus demonstrare quod non venit unam partem mundi redimere sed totum humanum genus." A similar interpretation of the four points of the cross is given in the *Sermo de Symbolo*, published with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. vi. Append. 279 B.) Another note in the right-hand margin is as follows: "Quatuor ligna fuerunt in cruce Christi, cedrip a cor ꝛ cuppir atenga ꝛ gup in zeinbo vo patob epeche ꝛ bethe in clap in po pepibab in ticul [cedar was its foot (or shaft), and cypress was its tongue, and deal was the piece that went across, and birch was the board on which the title was written. . . .]

42. *Membra Christi*.—These are the only words here legible in B.

Demouit saxum sepulcro surgens christus intiger
haec uidit iudea mentax haec negat cum uiderit

Feminae primum moventur saluatorem uiuere
quas saluat ipse mestas complet tristes gaudio

Seque a mortuis paterna suscitatum dextera
tertia die redisse nuntiat apostolis

55

Mox uidetur a beatis quos probauit fratribus
quod redisset ambigentes intret ianuus clausis

Dat docens praecepta legis dat diuinum spiritum
spiritum dei perfectum trinitatis uinculum

60

Gloss.—51. *Demouit*.—i. angelus remouit. *Intiger*.—i. corpore et anima. 52. *Haec uidit*.—i. mira opera resurrectionis. *Haec*.—Eadem opera. 53. *Feminae*.—i. Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi, et Iosetis et Salomona monite sunt circa resurrectionem Christi manifestam. 54. *Saluat*.—i. benedicit angelus vel christus. *Mestas*.—i. tristes mulieres. *Gaudio*.—i. resurrectionis christi. 55. *Paterna*.—i. uirtute patris. 56. *Rediase*.—i. ad vitam. *Nuntiat*.—i. christus per mulieres. 57. *Probauit*.—i. elegit, vel bonis operibus, id est spe et fide et caritate. *Fratribus*.—i. apostolis. 58. *Rediasset*.—i. resurrexisset. *Ambigentes*.—i. dubitantes, i. Tomas et ceteri de resurrectione Christi. 59. *Docens*.—i. christus. *Dat*.—i. de patre pater in propria nobis uia munda (He sent the gift of the Holy Spirit upon them after Low Sunday) quamuis plenius dedit pentecostem. 60. *Vinculum*.—i. na po rhoimnibe combab beba na ceapba. achb epeaba [that it may not be supposed that they are two or four, but three] semper eo quod patrem et filium coniungit, vel vinculum quod homines ad deum coniungit.

43. *Scisa*.—*Scissa*, B. C. *Pandunt*.—*Pendent*, B. C.

44. *Excitantur*.—*Excitantur*, B. C.

45. *Affuit*.—*Adfuit*, B. C. *Mirra*.—*Myrra*, B. C.

46. *Lintheo*.—*Linteo*, B. C.

47. *Præcepit*.—*Præcipit*, B. C.

48. *Quod*.—*Quæ*, C. *Spononderet*.—*Spononderat*, B. C.

50. *Vellus*.—In the margin there is the following note: "Vellus sericum .i. in enai pepicba [i. e. the silk-worm cocoon] .i. cenele etarg march pen [i. e. a kind of costly cloth] sunt apud ethiopiam et indos quidam in arboribus vermes, et pompices appellantur, qui araneae more

tenuissima fila neunt, et unde sericum vestimentum efficitur."—See Isid. Hispal. *Etymol.*, lib. xix. c. 27.

51. *Demouit*.—*Demouet*, C. *Sepulcro*.—There is an erasure before the word *sepulcro*. Perhaps the scribe had originally written "e sepulcro;" but perceiving that the metre would not bear this addition, he erased the "e." *Surgens*.—*Surgit*, C. *Intiger*.—*Integer*, B. C.

52. *Judea mentax*.—*Judaea mendax*, B. C. *Fiderit*.—*Videret*, B. C. The next two lines are illegible in B.

54. *Mestas*.—*Moestas*, C. *Tristes*.—*Tristeis*, C.

56. *Rediase*.—*Rediase*, B. But the metre

PRAECEPIT TOTUM PER ORBEM BAPTIZARI CREBULOS
NOMEN PATRIS INUOCANTES CONFITENTES FILIUM

MYSTICA FIDE REVELAT TINCTOS SANCTO SPIRITU
PONTE TINCTOS INNOVATOS FILIOS FACTOS DEI

ANTE LUCEM TURBA PRATRUM CONCINNEMUS GLORIAM 65
QUA DOCEMUR NOS FUTURI SEMPIETERNA SECULO

GALLI CANTUS GALLI PLAUSUS PROXIMUM SENTIT DIEM
NOS CANTANTES ET PRECANTES QUAE FUTURA CREDIMUS

MAJESTATEMQUE IMMENSAM CONCINEMUS IUGITER 70
ANTE LUCEM NUNTIEMUS CHRISTUM REGEM SAECULO

Gloss.—61. *Precepit*.—i. Ite docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. 63. *Revelat*.—i. innovat. *Tinctos*.—i. baptizatos. 64. *Fonte*.—i. baptisml. *Innovatos*.—i. gratia spiritus sancti. 65. *Lucem*.—i. dici. *Turba*.—i. vocalis. *Fratrū*.—i. in christo. 66. *Docemur*.—Cum tunc gnechgi bocheptauz pil hic [It is a verb in a passive form here] ut Friselandus dicit. *Futuri*.—Vel os [i. e. vel futuros]. *Sempiterna*.—i. apud deum. 67. *Galli cantus*.—Sicut canit gallus ante lucem sic decet nos cantare ante lucem matutini temporis, vel ante diem iudicii. 68. *Futura*.—i. praemia celestia. 69. *Majestatemque*.—i. Dei.

requires a trisyllable; so that *rediisse* must have been pronounced "redisse," or "red-yisse," whether so written or not.

58. *Introt.*—Intrat, B. C. Cassander puts a comma after *redisset*, instead of after *ambigentes*: the meaning is, "they doubted whether he would return."

61. *Præcepit*—Precipit, B. C. *Baptizari*.—Baptizare, C.

63. *Mistica*.—Mystica, B. C.

65. *Ante lucem*.—Part of this line and the whole of the next are illegible in B. *Concinnemus*.—Concinimus, C. Muratori's transcript of B. gives "Concinit," which is probably wrong.

67. *Galli cantus*.—In the margin is the following note: "Galli plausus, galli cantus. Gallus .i. Gall a candore. Gal-

lus .i. caillech [a cock] .i. a galea capitis dictus est. Job dicit Quis dedit gallo scientiam [Job, xxxviii. 36.]" In the upper margin there is a note which has no connexion with the text, except that the mention of the cock's crow appears to have suggested St. Peter. It is taken from the *Quæstiones ex Vel, et Novo Testamento*, printed with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. iii. Append.), but now acknowledged to be spurious. This note is as follows: "Tunc Salvator cum pro se et Petro dari jubet, pro omnibus solvisse videtur; quia vero omnes in Salvatore erant causa magisterii, ita et post Salvatorem in Petro omnes continentur. Ipsum enim post se reliquit pastorem. Denique dicit illi, Ecce Sata-

ANTE lucem decantantes christo regi domino
et qui in illum recte credunt regnaturi cum eo

GLORIA patri ingenuito gloria unigenito
simul cum sancto spiritu in sempiterna secula

Gloss.—71. *Decantantes*.—i. laudem. 72. *Regnaturi*.—i. sunt. Cum eo.—i. cum christo. 73. *Gloria*.—i. sit. *Gloria*.—i. sit. *Unigenito*.—i. filio.

nas expostulavit ut vos ventilet velut triticum, ego autem rogavi pro te, ne deficiat fides tua, et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos. Manifestum est in Petro omnes contineri, rogans enim pro Petro pro omnibus rogasse cognoscitur. Semper enim in præposito populus aut corripitur aut laudatur.”—*Quæst. ex N. Test.* lxxv. (*Opp. S. Aug.*, tom. iii., Append. p. 73, B.) St. Augustine, in one of his acknowledged writings (lib. iv. *ad Bonifacium*, c. 4) quotes a passage under the name of Hilary (but without saying what Hilary), which is found verbatim in these *Questiones*. This gave rise to the opinion that they were by Hilary of Poitiers, which is, however, not likely. Cave and others, who think Hilary, the Roman deacon, under Pope Damasus, to have been intended, are more probably right. On the whole, the decision of the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine seems well founded—viz., that the *Questiones* were compiled at different times, and from the works of various authors, and so may have included an extract from some writer named Hilary. The editors say: “Hic nos, ut de commentariorum auctore nihil pronuntiemus, juvat in subjectas *Questiones* observare, MStorum codicum eam a nobis deprehensam esse varietatem, quæ efficere

possit, ut jam demum revocetur, atque invalescat opinio Erasmi et aliorum qui primum suspicabantur non unius hominis esse illud *Questionum* opus, in quo eadem quæ dicta sunt iterari, et propositis titulis rursus tractari eandem questionem; tum dissimile dicendi genus adhiberi; nec ipsa constanter eadem, sed plane contraria dogmata propugnari cernebant.”—*Ibid.*, p. 34. Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi. p. 415) is of the same opinion. He says: “Quelques uns ont eru que c'étoit l'ouvrage d'Hilaire, Diacre de l'Eglise Romaine, sous le Pontificat du Pape Damase. On y trouve en effet plusieurs opinions et plusieurs maximes exprimées dans les mêmes termes, que dans le Commentaire sur S. Paul, qui porte le nom de cet Auteur. Mais il a apparence que toutes ces questions ne sont pas d'une même personne,” &c.

68. *Cantantes*.—Canentes, B. Cante-mus, C.

69. *Concinemus*.—Concinemus, B. Concinimus, C. *Iugiter*.—Uniter, B. C.

71. *Decantantes*.—B. reads: “Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem sæculo.” C. reads: “Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem Domini.”

72. *Et*.—Om., B.

73. *Gloria*.—C. has only “Gloria, &c.”

Te necet q̄m̄n̄p̄ Deur̄ in Sion ⁊ tibi pebbet̄ur uotum in hierupalem.

Canticur̄ p̄p̄it̄ualibur̄ dilectat̄i q̄m̄n̄p̄ Chripte componanteur̄ canimur̄ tibi quibur̄ tua Domine maiest̄ar̄ p̄p̄it̄ placari oblata Deo laudur̄ hor̄tia p̄p̄it̄ali per te Chripte Iesu saluator.

Unit̄ar̄ in t̄rinitate te deprecor̄ Domine ut me semper t̄rah̄ar̄ totum tibi uotum uouere.

Te decet.—This antiphon (which is from Ps. lxiv. *Fulg.*) and the following collects are omitted in B. Over the word *Sion* is the gloss, "et non in thethralibus;" and over the word *Hierusalem*, "quia ibi habitas." The word *thethralibus* seems to be some corrupt reading or error of the scribe.

The antiphon and collects at the end of this Hymn are in the angular characters already noticed (see pp. 23, 80), but

in the handwriting of the original scribe. The last of these seems to admit of a metrical arrangement:—

"Unitas in Trinitate
Te deprecor Domine,
Ut me semper trahas totum,
Tibi votum couere."

In which lines, however, we must not look for any very strict observance of the rules of Prosody. *Vouere* seems to have the penultimate short.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Translation of the Preface.

THE following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is in the usual rude mixture of Irish and Latin:—

HYMNUM DICAT. Hilary^a, bishop and prince^b of the city which is called Pictavis [Poitiers], made this hymn to Christ, in Mount Garganum, after eating his dinner there in the house of the robber. And after giving thanks to God, there came the sons of life^c afterwards, so that they were not larger than infants, as it seemed to a priest who was with them. An angel came and said to them, "Unless you do penance, you shall go to hell." Therefore they did penance, and God gave them pardon (*indulgentiam*), by means of this Hymn (*per istam laudem*). Thus it is our duty to sing after dinner (*sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*).

Another account:—The place [where this Hymn was written] was a cave on the breast of the Mount of Jove^d, in the Alps, in which philosophers^e were before. The time was the reign of Valentin [sic] and

^a *Hilary*.—A large proportion of this Preface is in rude Latin, mixed with sentences of Irish. The Editor has thought it advisable to translate the whole into English, adding some few explanatory notes.

^b *Prince*.—"Hilarius episcopus et princeps civitatis que dicitur Pictavia." St. Hilary was of a noble family of Poitiers, which is, perhaps, the reason why he is here called "princeps."

^c *The sons of life*.—That is Christians; see above p. 30, note ^a. The Editor has not been able to find any life of St. Hilary which mentions this strange legend. During the Arian persecution he was banished (A. D. 356), and took refuge in Phrygia. After his recall he visited Milan and other parts of

Italy; but we find no mention of his having been at Mount Garganum, in Apulia, a place which was not known in Church history for at least a century later, when it became sacred as the scene of a reputed apparition of St. Michael the Archangel (Baron. *ad an.* 492, et *Martyrol. Rom. ad 8 Maii. Act. SS. Bolland.*, tom. viii. *Sept.*, p. 58). It is not easy to see the point of the story told above of the "sons of life" seeming not larger than infants to the priest who was with them (or *with him*, i. e. with Hilary, as it might be rendered). It does not at first sight appear to have much connexion with the duty of saying grace after dinner, which, nevertheless, seems to be intended as its moral, from the words "*sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*."

Valens. The person [i. e. the author of the Hymn] was Hilarius. The cause [i. e. the occasion of writing the Hymn] was this: an angel demanded it (*postulavit*), when he came to the city Susanna⁴, with three hundred men, viz., one hundred clerics, and two hundred laymen. But one of the clerics died from the cold of the winter, and Hilary prayed for his monk⁵; and that very night an angel said unto him, "It behoves thee to search the Scriptures, and compose a hymn to God." And he did as the angel commanded, and raised the dead by the grace of God.

The metre⁶ is trochaic tetrameter. It receives a spondee in all places (except in the third place), and

⁴ *Mount of Jore*.—This is also a place which was not celebrated in ecclesiastical history until long after the time of St. Hilary. It is now well known to all European tourists under the name of Mount St. Bernard, so called from the celebrated monastic *Hospice* founded there in the tenth century by St. Bernard of Menthon, Archdeacon of Aoust, who died A. D. 1008. Up to his time the site of the present Hospice was occupied by a pillar stone, and some say an image of Jupiter, with an eye of carbuncle, which cured diseases, and uttered oracles. This was overthrown by St. Bernard, who founded in its place the present monastery. See *Act. SS. Bollandi*, ad 15 Junii. It is not improbable that the fame of this event may have influenced the Scholiast, who was probably a contemporary of St. Bernard of Menthon, in fixing upon the *Mons Jovis* as the scene of his legend. He gives the date of St. Hilary with tolerable correctness, when he says that the Hymn was composed in the reign of Valentinian and Valens (A. D. 364-375). The year 368 is usually given as that of St. Hilary's death.

⁵ *Philosophers*.—The original has "philophi," which seems a mistake for "philosophi."

⁶ *Susanna*.—This is some corruption: possibly *Soissons*. The Editor has not been able to find this story of the hundred clerics and two hundred laymen in any of the Lives of St. Hilary.

⁷ *His monk*.—In Irish writers the *monk* of a bishop signifies his attendant, or vassal. The word does not necessarily imply that the person so designated was a *monk*, properly so called. Mr. Curry has referred the Editor to the following passage in the *Leabhar Gabhula* of the O'Clerys, p. 176, where Aedh Ollan, King of Ireland, is styled the "Gospel monk" of Congus, abbot or bishop of Armagh: Congus comarba Dáiríne do nígim in nannio do

ghepaict Oeba Ollan a nianag forpcelu im bfoigail ráiríne a éille, "Congus, successor of Patrick, composed the following verse to induce Aedh Ollan, his Gospel monk, to avenge the violation of his church." This the Four Masters (at A. D. 732) understand as implying that Congus was the *anmchara* or spiritual adviser of Aedh, i. e. his Gospel master, so that Aedh would therefore be the spiritual *monk*, i. e. servant or disciple in Christ of Congus. The word occurs again, in the same sense, p. 200 of the same MS.; and so, in the Breton Laws, *manach* [a monk] means a servant or slave, as *Manach-gobla*, a gallows' slave, i. e. a person redeemed by purchase or entreaty from the gallows, and who became servant or slave for life to the person by whom he was redeemed.

⁸ *The metre*.—This paragraph, as already remarked, is from Bede's tract, *De Arte metrica*, c. 23, with some slight variations. Bede's words are as follows:—"Metrum trochaicum tetrametrum, quod a poetis Graecis et Latinis frequentissime ponitur, recipit locis omnibus trocheum, spondeum omnibus praeter tertium. Currit autem alternis versiculis, ita ut prior habeat pedes quatuor, posterior pedes tres et syllabam. Hujus exemplum totus hymnus ille pulcherrimus:—

Hymnum dicat turba fratrum,
Hymnum cantus personet.
Christo regi concinentes,
Laudes demus debitas.

"In quo aliquando et tertio loco prioris versiculi aspondeum reperies: ut

Factor coeli terre factor,
Congregator tu maris.

"Et

Verbis purgas leproe morbos."

a trochee in all places. In which thou mayest sometimes find a spondee in the third place of a prior¹ verse :

Factor oculi et terrae factor

and —

Verbis purgat leprae morbum.

Moreover, it runs in alternate verses, so that the prior verse has four feet, the posterior three, and a syllable.

Ymnus, in Greek, signifies *Laus* (praise) in Latin ; or Ymnus means Memory², as in the Greek Psalter, *Ymnostestmon*, that is, He was mindful of us. And it is of the praise of God especially that a Hymn is lawful ; and it is to music it is sung, as Augustin³ says, in the *Decades*⁴. *Hymnos primum David⁵ propheta [sic] in laudem Dei composuisse manifestum est.*

¹ *Prior*.—This Hymn has been written in the MS. from which it is now printed, in *lines*, not in the *versiculi* of which Bede speaks. Each line consists of two *versiculi*, which Bede calls *prior* and *posterior*,—the *prior* consisting of four feet, the *posterior* of three and an half. The third foot of the *prior* versiculus may be a spondee, instead of a trochee, of which he gives two examples ; but the third foot of the posterior versicle must always be a trochee.

² *Memory*.—There seems some strange confusion here between the words *hymnus* and *μνήμη*. The passage quoted from "the Greek Psalter" is apparently from Ps. cxlii. 20, *Sept.*, Κύριος μνησθήσιν ἡμῶν. The scribe having seen the last two words written, "mnestesemon," or "mnistesimon," transformed them into "ymnos testmon," retaining the correct translation "*memor fuit nostri*."

³ *Augustin*.—The sentiment here quoted from St. Augustin is that given in Irish which precedes, not the Latin words which follow, this reference ; and

the passage intended is probably from the *Enarr. in Ps.* lxxii. 1. "Hymni laudes sunt Dei cum cantico ; hymni cantus sunt continentes laudem Dei. Si sit laus, et non sit Dei, non est hymnus ; si sit laus, et Dei laus, et non cantetur, non est hymnus."—*Opp.* tom. iv. (*Ed. Bened.*) p. 753. A similar passage occurs, *Enarr. in Ps.* cxlviii. 17 ; *Ibid.* p. 1682 ; see also Isidorus Hispal., *Etymol.* vi. c. 19, n. 17.

⁴ *The Decades*.—The Commentaries (or "Eparationes") of St. Augustin on the Psalms were anciently divided into fifteen *decades*. See Cassiodorus (*Prolog. in Psalm.*), quoted by the Benedictine editors (*Opp. S. Aug.*, tom. iv. *Præfat.*) See also Isid. Hispal., *Epist.* iii. *Braulioni Archidiacono*, "Dum pariter essemus, postulavi te, ut mihi decadem sextam sancti Augustini transmitteres."

⁵ *David*.—"Psallere usum esse primum post Moysen David prophetam in magno mysterio prodit ecclesia."—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis*, l. c. 5, n. 1. "Hymnos primum eundem David prophetam condidisse ac cecinisse manifestum est, deinde et alios prophetas."—*Ibid.*, c. 6, n. 1.

VIII. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC MURCHON, IN PRAISE OF MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL.

THE following Hymn, so far as the Editor knows, has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to the three sons of "Murchu of the Connacians," or of Connaught (see Addit. Note), the eldest of whom was Colman a bishop, and the other two were priests.

Two saints called Murchu occur in the Calendars of the Irish Church. One of these, whose day was the 8th of June, is mentioned in the *Feilire*, or Festilogium, of Aengus the Culdee, and in that of Marianus Gorman, but without any particulars to indicate his date or history. In the Martyrology of Tallaght, and in that of Donegal (as also in the gloss on Marianus Gorman), he is called "the son of Hua Mactein," which gives us but little information.

The other (June 12) is merely named in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Mar. Gorman; but his name does not occur in the *Feilire* of Aengus, so that he is probably of later date than the former. The Martyrology of Donegal has the following note on his name:—

Murchu.—Ará Mupéá do fhuóir Conaill
Cpenéanne mic Neill Naor-ghallaiḡ, ⁊ ara
Cill Murchon ip in cCopann, anao Cúipe
Copann, a cConnaḡtaib; ⁊ feḡ an ipó a
feil.

Murchu.—There is a Murchu of the race
of Conall Cremhthainn, son of Niall of the
Nine Hostages. And there is a Cill Mur-
chon [or Church of Murchu, now *Kilmorgan*],
in Corann, near Ceis Corainn, in Connaught.
And see if this is his festival.

This proves that the eminent Irish scholar, Michael O'Clery, the compiler of the Martyrology of Donegal, was not able to say who the Murchu was whose festival was celebrated on the 12th of June. He suggests that there was a Murchu, a descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages: and that there

was also a Murchu (who may, perhaps, have been the same), to whom a church was dedicated in the barony of Corran, near Ceis-Corainn (now Keshcorran, or Keshcorrin), a remarkable hill in the county of Sligo. The father of Colman and his brothers, the reputed authors of this Hymn, is said to have been do Chonachtaib, "of the Connaughtmen," and, therefore, may possibly have been the Murchu of Cill Murchon, situated¹ as just described. But this is uncertain; and, indeed, has little evidence to support it except the identity of the name.

The Four Masters, at A. D. 731, record the death of "Colman Mac Murchon (or son of Murehu), abbot of Maghbile," i. e. Movilla, the church founded by St. Finian², at the head of Strangford Lough, which was occasionally a bishop's see in the seventh century; but Dr. Reeves has remarked, that from the year 731 forward (the year at which the Four Masters place Colman's death) Movilla is noticed in the Annals as governed by abbots only.

The Four Masters do not call this Colman, who died 731, a bishop, but only abbot; it does not follow, however, that he was not a bishop; and it is most probable that he was the Colman Mac Murchon to whom the Scholiast has ascribed the authorship of the following Hymn.

The Editor has not found any other copy of it than that in the *Liber Hymnorum*, from which it is now printed. From the anecdotes preserved in the Scholiast's Preface, it is probable that the author and his brothers were of the number of the Irish ecclesiastics who, in the eighth and following centuries, devoted themselves to missionary labour, or monastic retirement, on the Continent of Europe; and this may account for the scanty notice of this Colman Mac Murchon which remains in the native records of his country; although the Scholiast tells us that he afterwards returned to Ireland with his brothers—"et postea ad Hiberniam venerunt"—where he appears to have died Abbot of Movilla.

¹ *Situated*.—It is about two miles E. by N. from Ballymote.—*Ord. Surv.*, sheet 33. See Colgan, *Actt. SS.*, p. 465, col. 1, N^o. 31.

² *S. Finian*.—See above, p. 98, and Reeves' *Eccles. Antiquit. of Dagen and Connor*, pp. 151, 152.



IN Trinitate pper mea. Cpi meicc Muehon do Chonnachtaib do ponpat in molabpa do Michel. Colman a pncep 7 epreob pibe 7 pacapte in biar aile. Caupa .i. Dia naithepe do chotap eo eanic anbelhine mop pop muip lehe. Co nbeochotap inn alaile mri, 7 eo eanic goitra mop doib. Contb dia roepab ap in goitra pein do ponpat in molabpa. No ip do foepab mpe Róban ap demnaib. Ap po boe apale epreop capmtechtach inri peme sein, 7 in Phipancab ara, 7 poitea ab hiberniam uenepunt. Incepum est autem in quo tempore factus est. Cpe pichm dan doponab 7 .xi. capcell beac ann, 7 ba lmi in cech cabbaib, 7 pe pillaba beg cechai. Ip po i pichm do peip in omine do bit ann.

TRINITATE spes mea fixa NON IN OMINE
ET archangelum deprecor michaelē nomine

UT sit obuius ac misus mihi deo doctore
hora exitus de uita ista atque corpore

NE me ducat IN amarum MINISTER INERGIÆ
ipse princeps tenebrarum atque pes superbiæ

ADIUTORIUM succurrat michaelis et archangelī
ad me hora quæ gaudebunt iusti atque angelī.

Gloss.—1. *In Trinitate*.—i. trinitas .i. quasi trina unitas. *Fixa*.—Est vel erit. *In omine*.—Ideo dixit non in omine quia aliquis monachus audiat vocem avis surg[entis super] pectus maris, et dixit bonum omen, et tunc Colman dixit In trinitate. Omen, .i. cel [an omen] ab ominor. *Non in omine*.—i. recapam ppiu in cel ap a uberchi [I reject augury, because of its abomination]. 2. *Archangelum*.—Angelī .i. nuntii, archangelī, .i. summi nuntii, interpretantur. Hic. [Hieronymus]. Michael. —Qui p[ro]est Iudeis; vel qui sicut deus interpretatur, eoq[ue] in fine seculi aduersus eum qui se aduersus Deum erexerit mittendus. 3. *Doctore*.—i. de. 5. *Amarum*.—i. locum, vel in infernum. *Inergia*.—i. inique operationis vel melius transfigurationis ut Iesus dicit quod transfiguratur se in angelum lucis. 6. *Ipsa princeps*.—i. diabolus ut apostolus dicit. 7. *Adiutorium*.—i. deprecor. *Succurrat*.—i. veniat cito. 8. *Iusti*.—i. anime sanctorum.

1. *In Trinitate*.—For a translation of the Preface, see Addit. Note. *Non in omine*.—The Gloss appears to allude to some legend of a bird which appeared on

the sea, which a monk exclaimed was a good omen—"Bonum omen:" whereupon Colman repeated the words, "My sure hope is in the Trinity, not in an omen."

Illum rogo ne demittat mihi truces species
inimici sed deducat ubi regni requies 10

Adjuvet me sanctus michel diebus ac noctibus
ut me ponat in bonorum sanctorum consortibus.

Sanctus michel intercedat adiutor probabilis
pro me quia sum peccator actu atque fragilis

Sanctus michel me defendat semper suis viribus 15
anima egrediente cum sanctorum milibus.

Gloss.—9. *Illum*.—9. *Michaelem*. *Truces*.—1. *grandai*. 10. *Ubi*.—*Est*. *Requies*.—1. *sive in celo sive in terra*.

3. *Doctore*.—The second syllable is here made short. It is intended, no doubt, for *Ductore*.

5. *Inergia*.—For *energie*. Here used for diabolical influence. Persons possessed with devils were called *Energumeni*.—Comp. 2 Thes. ii. 9, 11.

6. *Pea Superbie*.—Ps. xxxv. 12, *Vulg.*

7. *Et archangeli*.—The metre, as well as the sense, of this line would be improved if *et* were omitted. *Adjutorium* seems to have been pronounced in four syllables, and *Michaelis* in three.

9. *Species*.—In the "Fragmentum Synodi Ibernensis" (Martene, *Thes. Nor. Anecd.*, tom. iv. p. 1, sq. Villanueva, *Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 169) this word is used to signify the face. "Sanguis Episcopi, vel excelsi principis, vel scribae, qui ad terram effunditur, si collirio indiguerit, cum qui effuderit sapientes crucifigi judicant, vel vii. ancillas reddat. Si in specie [i. e. if the wound be in the face] tertiam partem de argento." And again, "Sanguis presbyteri qui ad terram effunditur donec col-

lyrium suffert, manus interfectoris abscindatur, vel dimidium vii. ancillarum reddat, si de industria: si autem non de industria, ancillae pretio sanetur. Si ad terram non perveniat, percussor ancillam reddat; si in specie ejus, tertiam partem de argento retribuat," &c. If the word *species* be taken in the same sense here, the text may, perhaps, be thus translated: "I beseech him not to cast down upon me the horrible faces of the enemy, but to lead me where there is the rest of [God's] kingdom." The Gloss renders *truces* by *grandai*, or *granda*, i. e. great, large, from *grandus* for *grandis*.

11. *Adjuret me*.—On the upper margin of the page (fol. 16 a) of the MS. there is a note, or extract, of no interest, from some medieval author. It has no reference whatsoever to the text, and is in some places illegible.

13. *Probabilis*.—Meaning *approved*, to be highly lauded, or *approved*.

16. *Anima egrediente*.—"May St. Michael, with myriads of the saints, conti-

SANCTUS gabriel sanctus raphael atque omnes angeli
intercebant pro me semper simul et archangeli

ETerna possint prestare regis regni aulica
ut possideam cum christo paradisi gaudia

20

GLORIA sit semper deo patri atque filio
simul cum spiritu sancto in uno consilio.

Adiuuet nos archangelus pancer michel dignissimus quem
recipere animas mittat deus altissimus.

Gloss.—17. *Gabriel*.—i. fortitudo Dei interpretatur. *Raphael*.—i. medicina Dei interpretatur, eo quod medicinavit tobiam de cecitate. 19. *Possint*.—i. angeli et archangeli. *Aulica*.—i. regia domus. *Archangelus*.—i. summus nuntius interpretatur. *Michel*.—i. qui sicut Deus interpretatur.

nually defend me by his power [especially] when my soul is departing [from the body]."

Adiuuet nos.—These lines are in a different character, but by the original scribe, like the similar lines after the other Hymns, of which we have already frequently spoken. Over the *a* in *mittat* a

small *i* is written, indicating a correction of the reading, from *mittat* to *mittit*. There is evidently a distich with a rude rhyme. The verses may be read thus:—

"Adjuvet nos archangelus,
Sanctus Michael dignissimus,
Quem recipere animas
Mittat Deus altissimus."

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE Preface of the Scholiast is for the most part in Irish, but, as in former instances, mixed with Latin words. The whole has been here translated, without distinguishing the phrases that are in Latin :—

In Trinitate spes mea. The three sons of Murchu of the Connacians made this Hymn to Michael. Colman^a, the eldest of them, was a bishop; the other two were priests. The Cause^b was this: they went on a pilgrimage, and a great tempest arose on the Iccian^c sea, and they came to a certain island, and a great hunger came on them, and it was to deliver them from this hunger they composed this Hymn. Or, it was to free the island of Rodan^d from Demons. For there had been a certain transgressing bishop in it before that; and it is in France. And afterwards they went to Ireland. It is uncertain, however, at what time this Hymn was composed. It is made in rhyme, and there are eleven^e chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter, and sixteen^f syllables in each line. It is on^g the rhyme is, on account of the *omine* being in it.

^a Colman.—See what has been already said of him in the introductory remarks, p. 165.

^b The Cause.—That is, the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

^c Iccian Sea.—I. e. the British Channel, *Irish Nennius*, p. 31, n. p. 272; *Genealogies of Hy Finachrach*, p. 18, n.

^d Rodan.—The Editor has not been able to identify this island, unless it be the *Ile St. Roux*, off the coast of Brittany. There is a St. Rodineus, or St. Rouin, an Irishman, whose original name was probably Rodan. He founded the Abbey of Beaulieu in Argonne, and died A. D. 680, on the 17th Sept., at which day his name occurs in the Calendar of the Church of France. See Menard, l. ii., *Observat. in Martyrol. Bened.*, and Mabillon,

Act. SS. Bened., where his life is given: Sec. iv. part ii., App., p. 543. *Venet.*, 1738.

^e Eleven.—The MS. has .xi. caprell bec, a mistake for .i. caprell bec, or .xi. caprell, "eleven chapters."

^f Sixteen.—This is also a mistake, for the lines have only fifteen syllables. But line 7 seems to have seventeen syllables, or sixteen if we read *Michaelis* as a trisyllable. But in line 2 *Michaelen* is read in four syllables, and in lines 11, 13, and 15, where the name Michael is a dissyllable, it is written *Michel*.

^g It is on i.—i. e. the rhyme is on the vowel i, as *omine*, and *nomine*, ver. 1 and 2. Every line has i either in the last or penultimate syllable, except lines 3, 4, where the last syllable is e.

IX. THE HYMN OF ST. OENGUS MAC TIPRAITE IN PRAISE OF ST. MARTIN.

THIS Hymn has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to Oengus Mac Tipraite, priest, or abbot, of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha¹, a contemporary of St. Adamnan; and is said to have been written on the occasion of Adamnan's visitation of the Columban foundations in Ireland, A. D. 692 or 697. Oengus, however, lived to A. D. 745, at which year the Annals of Ulster record his death in these words: "Mors Oengusa filii Tipraiti abbatis Cluana Fota;" as also the Annals of Tighernach, in the words, *barr Oengusa meic Tipraite ab Cluana Fota baitain abha*, "Death of Aengus son of Tipraide, abbot of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha." The Four Masters alter the date given by the earlier annalists to 741. But all these authorities agree in styling Oengus *Abbot* of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha: they probably understood our Scholiast to have meant *abbot*, when he calls him *priest* of that monastery.

The Hymn is in extremely rude Latinity, and irregular metre, with rhyme or assonances at the end of the lines. Nothing is known of the author except what is recorded in the Preface, and in the Annals above quoted. His name does not occur in the Calendars or Martyrologies of the ancient Church of Ireland.

¹ *Cluain Fota Baitain-abha*.—This name signifies "the long lawn or meadow of Baitan of the river," now Clonfad, barony of Farbill, county of Westmeath. *Baitan* of the river may have been the founder of the monastery, or else, perhaps, a chieftain who was the original owner of the soil; but no other notice of him appears to have been

preserved. One of the earliest bishops of Clonfad was Etchein, who ordained St. Columba.—See the Legend, *Obits of Christ Church*, Introd., p. liv., and comp. Reeves' *Adamnan. Vit. S. Columbe*, App. to Pref., p. lxxii. He died A. D. 577 or 578. Four Masters in anno; Colgan, *Act. SS.*, 11th of Feb.; Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 125.



MARTINE. Oengur mace tippaite pacapte eluana pota baitan aba ipe bo ponai hunc
 qmnum. i eluan pota pactur epe. Caurpa autem abannan boi for cuapit cell
 colum eille in hepena co poacht co uirneuch mibe co po ganeb do cech fip gnaib
 forr a paba lub ipin cip; co puacht in tepuacra oengur in aibche fele mapcan.
 et timuit ualde ut fecit hunc qmnum in honorem martini dia poepab. uenit epra
 oengur do chum [na] bala appabapach q a immun eplam leip. q tarrfor do
 abannan mapcan for a laim beip Oengura q aepacht epra abannan peme, et
 honopificauit eum cum opculo et omnes mirabantur caurpam honopir et dixit
 Abannan ut uirte martini pecum, comib ap mapcan do bich immaile fpir do
 pac honop do. po poepab epra amlaib rein oengur. et opecentib qmnum puum et
 laudauit abannan qmnum et dixit gnuir aipmiciu for in ei gebar icbul do chum
 bala no aspechta ocur comab dicit ap cech hgalap. ocur nem apa gabail fo lige
 po eipge. The nithim ban do ponab, re cabdill ann q da line cech cabdill
 impepra ban ann et non aequalem numerum pillabarum pingulae liniae
 repuant.



MARTINE te deprecor pro me rogans patrem
 christum ac spiritum sanctum habentem mariam
 matrem

MARTINUS mirus more ore laudauit deum
 puro corde cantauit atque amauit eum

ELECTUS DEI uiui signa sibi salutis
 donauit deus pacis magne atque uirtutis

Uerbum dei locutus secutus in mandatis
 uirtutibus impletis mortuis resuscitatus

Gloss.—3. *More*.—i. caritatis atque religionis. 7. *Locutus*.—est. *Secutus*.—i. Deum. 8. *Impletis*.—amen.

1. *Martine*.—For a translation of the Preface see Addit. Note.

2. *Habentem*.—This seems heterodox, or at least very badly expressed, and

rude; for *habentem* agrees grammatically with *Spiritus Sanctum*, although, of course, intended to agree with *Christum*.

8. *Impletis*.—The Gloss “Amen” on

SANANS HOMINES LEpra cura duplice mira
magnitudine mala egredidine dira

10

Deum dominum nostrum passum pro nobis mire
uoluntarie propter nos deprecare martine

MARTINE.

Sanctur martinur athuc catacominur hac me uerpe contexit
dicit dominur omnipotentr.

Per merita martini sancti atque dignissimi nos precamur ut
mereamur pignum dei uui altissimi. Amen.

(Gloss.—9. *Duplices*.—i. anima et corpore. 10. *Magnitudine*.—i. peccati. *Egredidine*.—i. corporis.

Catocominus.—i. adiutor fidei interpretatur.

this word is in a more recent hand, and is written under, not over, the word. *Mortuis reuocatis*.—Sulp. Severi *De Vit. B. Martini*, c. 5, 6 (*Bibl. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 H., 351 A. Lugd. 1677).

9. *Lepra*.—*Ibid.*, c. 19 (*ubi supr.*, 353 A.) *Cura duplices*.—With a twofold cure, of mind as well as body: converting them to the faith, as well as healing them of bodily disease. *Cura* is here used in the sense of *curatio morbi*.

12. *Martine*.—The Hymn ends here, as we infer from the repetition of the last word, *Martine*, which is also the first word of the Hymn. It is one of the artifices of Irish poetry to make a poem begin and end with the same word (see above, p. 23). What follows is in a different character, although by the original scribe (see above, pages 23, 80, 161).

Catocominus.—i. e. *Catechumenus*, a Catechumen. In the Gloss this word is ex-

plained *adiutor fidei*, which is, perhaps, a mistake for "auditor fidei."—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, vii. c. 14. The allusion is to the following legend, told by Sulpitius Severus in his *Life of St. Martin*:—During his military career, St. Martin found one day at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man, naked, and shivering with the intense cold of a more than usually severe winter. None of the by-passers took any notice of the wretched suppliant's appeals to their charity; but St. Martin, moved by compassion, took off his own cloak (*chlainydem*), and drawing his sword, divided it into two equal parts, one of which he gave to the poor man. At this time St. Martin was only a Catechumen, and had not as yet been baptized, although he was eighteen years of age. He entered the city amid the jeers of many, who ridiculed his appearance in his cloak cut short; but that same

night he saw in a dream Christ Himself, clothed in that very half of the cloak which had been given to the poor man, and being called upon to recognise the garment, he heard JESUS say to the surrounding angels, "Martin, although only a Catechumen, hath covered Me with this robe"—"Nocte igitur insecutâ, cum se sopori dedisset, vidit Christum clamydis suæ, quâ texerat pauperem parte vestitum. Intueri diligentissime Dominum, vestemque quam dederat jubetur agnoscere. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem, audit JESUM clara voce dicentem: *Martinus, adhuc Catechumenus, hac Me veste contexit.* Vere memor Dominus dictorum suorum (qui ante prædixe-

rat: *Quamdiu fecistis hæc uni ex minimis istis, mihi fecistis*), se in paupere professus est fuisse vestitum," &c. Upon this, St. Martin was immediately baptized, but continued almost two years longer in the army, to complete the term of his military service.—Sulp. Severi, *De Vita S. Martini*, c. 2 (*Biblioth. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 A.) *Lib. Armac.* in Vit. S. Martini, fol. 192, where the form *Catacominus*, for *Catechumenus*, occurs.

Per merita.—There is here a rhyme or jingle:—

"Per merita Martini
Sancti atque dignissimi
Nos precamur
Ut mereamur
Regnum Dei vivi altissimi."

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE Preface, or Argument, details a curious legend, which is quite consistent with the date already assigned to the author of this Hymn. It is in the usual mixture of Latin and Irish, and may be translated as follows:—

Martine. Oengus Mac Típraite^a, priest of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha, was the person who composed this Hymn. It was composed in Cluain Fota. The Cause^b was this: Adamnan was making his visitation^c of the churches of Colum-cille in Erin, when he arrived at Uisneach of Meath; and every man of grade^d, against whom there was any accusation in that country, was summoned to him; and the proclamation reached Oengus on the eve of the festival of Martin; and he feared greatly^e, so that he made this Hymn in honour of Martin, to deliver himself. Then Oengus came to the assembly on the morrow^f, and his Hymn ready with him; and Martin appeared to Adamnan on the right hand of Oengus, and Adamnan rose up before him [i. e. before Oengus], and did him honour with a kiss, and all wondered at the cause of the honour; and Adamnan said when he saw Martin with him, [i. e. with Oengus], that it was because Martin was with him that he gave him this honour. Thus did Oengus deliver himself; and he showed his Hymn, and Adamnan praised the Hymn, and said, An honourable aspect^g shall be upon every one that

^a *Oengus Mac Típraite*.—See what has been said of him, p. 171, *supra*.

^b *The Cause*.—That is, the cause or occasion on which it was composed.

^c *His Visitation*.—This fixes the date to A. D. 692 or 697.—See Reeves' *Adamn*, p. xlix. *Uisneach* is in the parish of Conry, diocese of Meath, a little south of which, in the parish of Ardmore, is *Suíthe Góarinnáin* (now *Syonan*), "*sessio Adamnani*," which was probably the spot where the visitation or synod alluded to in the text was held.—Reeves' *Adamnan*, *App. to Pref.*, p. lxx.

^d *Of grade*.—That is, every man who was in holy orders.

^e *He feared greatly*.—Are we to infer from this that Oengus was one of those against whom some accusation had been brought? If so, his fears may have arisen from the apprehension that justice was not always to be expected from the ecclesiastical tribunals of that period.—See Reeves' *Adamnan*, lib. iii. c. 3, p. 192, and note ².

^f *On the morrow*.—The Irish word is *appapach*, which would be now written *q mdpach*; a curious instance of the interchange of *b* and *m*.

^g *An honourable aspect*.—That is, his very outward appearance shall be such as to command respect from all who see him.

sings it in going to an assembly, or court^b, and it shall be a protection against every disease, and against poison, to him who sings it lying down and rising up.

It is composed in rhyme; there are six chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter; it is in assonancesⁱ; and the lines do not each preserve the same number^j of syllables.

^b *An assembly or court.*—Oala no aipechtā. Oala (the same word used above, where it is said that Oengus went to the assembly, at which he was to receive the judgment of Adamnan) is a general term for any meeting; aipeacht is properly a court or diet of princes, or officials, for making laws, or hearing civil causes; from aipeac, a chieftain, or noble.

ⁱ *In assonances.*—Recca, repetition of the same sound at the end of each line.

^j *The same number.*—The lines have generally

fourteen syllables. Verse 2 has sixteen syllables, but may be reduced to fourteen, if we elide the final syllable of *Christum* before *ac*, and pronounce *Mariam* as a dissyllable, *Marjam*. Verses 8 and 12 have fifteen syllables; in verse 8, *mortuis* is pronounced as a dissyllable; and in verse 12, *voluntarie* is pronounced *voluntarje*, four syllables only. But in verse 4, the final syllable of *atque* is not elided before *amavit*. *Martinus* is apparently pronounced *Martinnus*, with the penultimate short; and there are several other irregularities.

X. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.

IT may be convenient to give here a translation of the Scholiast's Preface¹, or Introduction, to this well-known Hymn :—

¹ *Gloria in excelsis.* The angels of God sang the first verse of this Hymn on the night of the Lord's Nativity. They made it at the Tower of Gabder,² a mile from Jerusalem eastward. To make known that He who was then born was the Son of God they made it. In the time of Octavin Augustus it was composed. But Ambrose made this Hymn, from the second verse to the end of the Hymn."

From the notice of this Hymn in the fourth Council of Toledo (A. D. 633), it would seem that the author or authors of it were then unknown: the Council (can. 13), speaking of those who at that time objected to the use of all hymns of human composition, say: "Respuant ergo et illum hymnum ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmodiorum dicimus, *Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in secula seculorum, Amen.* Nam et ille hymnus quem nato in carne Christo Angeli cecinerunt, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*; et reliqua quæ ibi sequuntur ecclesiastici Doctores composuerunt." As Hilary and Ambrose had been mentioned just before as the authors of hymns (see above, p. 149), it is not likely that the Council would have spoken thus, if either of those Fathers had been then reputed the author of this Hymn.

It is most commonly attributed to St. Hilary³, of Poitiers, and is entitled, "Hymnus S. Hilarii ad Missam" in the *Cod. Vatic.* 5729 (an ancient MS. of

¹ *Preface.*—Another version of this Preface will be found in Addit. Note A at the end of this Hymn.

² *The Tower of Gabder.*—See Additional Note B.

³ *To St. Hilary.*—Some have made Pope Telesphorus (A. D. 150) the author (as Rhabanus, Amalarius, Walafridus Strabo, &c.), misunderstanding, as it would seem, the words of the *Liber Pontificalis*, where Telesphorus is

the Hieronymian Bible). But as this Hymn was in use as a morning hymn (*προσευχή ἑωθινή*) in the Greek Church¹, and is found in a Greek dress in the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. vii. c. 47), Cardinal Thomasius² suggests, with great probability, that St. Hilary was only the translator, and that he had been instrumental in bringing it into use in the Western Church: "Forte hic primus hymnum hunc Latinum fecit, primusque ex Oriente in Occidentem inexit."

The Editor has found no authority except that of the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, now before us, for attributing this Hymn to St. Ambrose. The reasons already given for supposing it more ancient than St. Hilary are of equal force against the opinion that St. Ambrose was the author³.

said to have appointed this Hymn, or rather, perhaps, only the first verse of it, to be sung on the night of Christmas: "Ut Hymnus Angelicus in nocte Nativitatis Domini diceretur." It is remarkable that in the Liturgy of St. James only the words of the angels, and not the remainder of the Hymn, are to be found. —J. A. Fabricii, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, pt. iii. tom. ii. p. 64; and so also in the *Ordo Missæ* for Christmas Day, in the *Missale Gothicum*, published by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallicana*, pt. iii. p. 192. But Alcuin, Honorius Augustodunensis, Hugo de St. Victore, and many others, maintain that Hilary was the author.

¹ *Greek Church*.—See Ussher, *De Symbolis* (Works by Elrington, vol. vii. p. 335). It is called in the Greek Church *ἡ μεγάλη δόξαλογία*, "the great Doxology" (Goar. *Rituale Græcor.*, p. 54-58). In the Codex Alexandrinus (Edit. Baber, vol. iii. 569) this Hymn is entitled *ἕμνος ἑωθινός*; and in the Vatican MS., 5729, "Hymnus Angelorum" (Card. Thomasii, *Psalter. Opp.* ed. A. F. Vezzosi, Rom., 1748, tom. iii. p. 616). See also Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, vol. ii. Dissert. ii. p. 28, voc. *ἑωθινός*, Oxon., fol. 1473.

² *Thomasius*.—*Psalter., Opp.*, loc. cit.; and so Alcuin speaks of the *Gloria in excelsis* as having been "auctus et consummatus" by St. Hilary. Quoted by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallic.*, p. 29.

³ *The author*.—Mention is made of this Hymn in the Treatise *De Virginitate*, published among the works of St. Athanasius (tom. ii., Ed. Bened.); and if that tract were genuine, this would be a strong argument against the opinion that the Hymn was of Latin origin, or that it had either St. Hilary or St. Ambrose for its author. For the Tract *De Virginitate* speaks of the Hymn as used in the morning, or near morning (*πρὸς ἑσπριν*), by an established custom; which it could scarcely have been in the time of Athanasius, if Hilary or Ambrose had been the author. However, although Bellarmine, Nat. Alexander, and other learned men, have upheld the genuineness of the treatise *De Virginitate*, there is now scarcely any one who does not acquiesce in the judgment of the Benedictine editors, that it cannot be an authentic work of St. Athanasius.—See Ondin., *De Scripturis*, tom. i. p. 340.



GLORIA IN EXCELSIS. Angeli dei cecinerunt primum uerbum huius cmmi in nocte dominicæ natiuitatis. Ie sup gabriel inoppro bo ponat .i. mile o hierupalem pax. bo failligub inoppro conno maco de in ei po genair ann bo ponat he. In amppir oecaufn augurci bo ponab. Ambrosiur autem fecit hunc cmmum a pecundo uerpu urque ab finem cmmi.



**GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX
HOMINIBUS BONÆ VOLUNTATIS**

Laudamus te benedicimus te adoramus te
glorificamus te magnificamus te

Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam misericor-
diam tuam
domine rex celestis deus pater omnipotens

Domine fili unigenite iesu christe
sancte spiritus dei et omnes dicimus amen

GLOSS.—1. *In excelsis*.—i. in celis. *In terra*.—i. in ecclesia sancta. 2. *Bonæ voluntatis*.—i. eis qui nullum [nolunt] deum offendere sed placere cogitatione et uerbo et opere. 3. *Laudamus*.—i. [in uita] hac nostra vel in teorica uita. *Benedicimus*.—i. actuali uita. *Adoramus*.—i. subiectione corporis et anime, i. totis uiribus. 4. *Glorificamus*.—i. coram Deo Patre. *Magnificamus*.—i. coram hominibus bono opere.

1. *Gloria*.—For a translation of the Preface, see above, p. 177.

4. *Magnificamus te*.—Omitted in the text of this Hymn as now used.

5.—*Misericordiam*.—An ancient hand has written in the margin *Gloriam*.

6.—*Domine rex*.—"Domine Deus rex" is the reading now.

7.—*Domine fili*.—The present text is

"Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe, Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis, Qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe, cum sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen."

Domine fili dei patris agne dei qui tollis peccata mundi
miserere nobis. 10

Suscipe orationem nostram qui sedes ad dexteram patris
miserere nobis domine.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus tu solus dominus tu solus
gloriosus cum spiritu sancto in gloria dei patris amen

IN omni tempore benedicimus te et laudamus 15
nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum seculi amen

Dignare domine nocte ista
sine peccato nos custodire

Benedictus es domine deus patrum nostrorum et laudabile
et gloriosum nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum se-
culi amen. 20

Domine deus salutis meae
in die clamaui et nocte coram te

Gloss.—13. *Tu solus.*—i. per teipsum. 15. *In omni tempore.*—i. in prosperis et in adversis.
16. *Nomen.*—i. filium tuum. 17. *Nocte.*—i. hujus seculi. 18. *Peccata.*—i. sine mortali crimine.
19. *Patrem.*—i. patriarcharum et apostolorum. 20. *In seculum.*—i. hic et in futuro. 22. *In die.*—
i. in prosperis. *Nocte.*—i. in tenebris seculi hujus.

15. *In omni tempore.*—What follows is an addition, of the nature of an antiphon, like the similar additions at the end of the foregoing Hymns; but in this case it is written in the same characters as the text. The verse *In omni tempore* is added to this Hymn in the copy of it printed by Cardinal Thomasius from the Ambrosian Breviary (Psalter. *Opp.*, ubi *supr.*, p. 613), but with the variation, “per singulos dies [instead of “in omni tempore”] benedicimus te,” which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, Ps. cxliv. 2.

17. *Dignare.*—This verse is found also

in the Ambrosian copy of this Hymn (Thomas, *loc. cit.*), and is also usually incorporated in the *Te Deum*, but with the reading *die isto*, instead of *nocte ista*, as above. This peculiarity of the Irish copy seems to show that in the ancient Church of Ireland the Hymn was used at night; a fact which is expressly stated to have been the case, in another copy of the preface, which will be given in Note A, from the *Leabhar Breac*.

18. *Sine peccato.*—Sine peccatis. Thomas, *loc. cit.*

19. *Benedictus.*—Dan. iii. 26, *Fulg.*

INTER ORATIO MEA IN CONSPPECTU TUO
INCLINA AUREM TUAM AD PRECEM MEAM DOMINE

SCUTO CIRCUMBABIT TE VERITAS EIUS
NON TIMEBIS A TIMORE NOCTURNO

25

Gloss.—24. *Preceem*.—i. quia in hoc corpore possitis fundo 25. *Scuto*.—i. licet in errore fuimus quando nox est, non timebis quia habes scutum veritatis. 26. *Timebis*.—i. a tenebrosa satione inimicorum.

21. *Domine Deus*.—This and the next clause are from Ps. lxxxvii. 2, 3, *Fulg*.

25. *Scuto*.—This clause is from Ps. xc. 4, 5, *Fulg*.

26. *Timebis*.—The gloss over this word seems to use *sasio* for *saisio*, in the sense

of *invasion, attack*, unless we suppose a mistake of transcription for "tenebrosa invasione." The verb *Saisire* was used by Ivo Carnotensis in the eleventh century, which was, probably, about our scholiast's time.—See Du Cange.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

A TRANSLATION of the Scholiast's Preface has already been given (p. 177, *supra*). There is, however, another copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49 b, *in marg. inf.*) a MS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy. This has been probably taken from another copy of the Book of Hymns, and is worth preserving here :—

Gloria in excelsis Deo. Angil do pon-
 rat in fepp corpech bon imanno, oibce na
 geine. hic cor aber imoppo do ponrac .i.
 mile o hierusalem parp. Dia foillrugub
 comb mac De inchi pogenair and bo ponrac
 he. In aimpir hoccauin imoppo do ponab
 he. Ambrosiur bin do poine in cuilleb .i.
 a pecundo ueppu urque in finem laubir,
 ꝑc.

Ambrosiur rui eppuce ire do poine hunc
 innum do molab lepu. oup in oibce ap
 urp a cancan. Cipichim bin do ponab.
 un. capcil mb, oup .un. line in cech capcil
 oup .un. pillaeba cecha line.

Gloria in excelsis Deo. The angels made the
 first verse of this Hymn, on the night of the Na-
 tivity: and in the tower of Ader they made it, which
 is a mile from Jerusalem, eastwards. To make
 known that He who was then born was the Son of
 God they made it. And in the time of Octavin
 they made it. But Ambrosius made the remain-
 der, from the second verse to the end of the hymn,
 etc.

Ambrose the learned bishop, it was he who made
 this Hymn in praise of Jesus; and at night it is
 right to sing it. And it is made in rhythm.
 There are seven chapters in it, and seven lines in
 each chapter, and seven syllables in each line.

It will be observed, that in this version of the Preface St. Ambrose is stated to have been the author of the Hymn; and it is also expressly said that it was the usage to sing it at night, which accounts for the alteration *nocte ista* instead of *die isto*, already noticed, p. 180, note. The concluding paragraph, which tells us that the Hymn is in rhythm, consisting of seven chapters, with seven lines in each chapter, and seven syllables in each line, is an evident mistake.

NOTE B.

The Tower Gabder, or Gadder.

MENTION of the Tower *Gadder** has already been made, as the scene of the angelical vision, which appeared to the shepherds on the night of our Lord's Nativity.

This Tower is stated in the Scholium, or Preface to the present Hymn, to have been a mile from Jerusalem; but St. Jerome and Ven. Bede speak of it as a mile from Bethlehem, which accords better with the Gospel narrative. The latter says (*Comment. in Luc. ii. 8*): "Meminit et Micha propheta loci hujus et temporis, dicens, '*Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Sion usque ad te venient, et veniet potestas prima, regnum filia Sion.*' Turris quippe gregis, quæ Hebraice *Ader* vocatur, mille circiter passibus a civitate Bethleem ad orientem distat, vaticinio sui nominis pastores hos multo ante demonstrans ad quam usque filia Sion, angelicæ videlicet potestates, pastoribus apparendo, venerunt."

St. Jerome, on Gen. xxxv. 21, says: "*Et profectus est Israel, et extendit tabernaculum suum trans turrim Ader.* Hunc locum Hebræi esse volunt ubi postea templum edificatum est; *et turrim Ader, turrim gregis* significare, hoc est, *congregationis et cætus*; quod et Michæas propheta testatur, dicens, *Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Sion*, &c.: illoque tempore Jacob trans locum, ubi postea templum edificatum est, habuisse tentoria. Sed si sequamur ordinem viæ" [i. e. the order of Jacob's journey] "pastorum juxta Bethleem locus est, ubi vel angelorum grex in ortu Domini cecinit; vel Jacob pecora sua pavit, loco nomen imponens: vel quod verius est, quodam vaticinio futurum jam tunc mysterium monstrabatur." Here it will be seen that St. Jerome decides rightly that the Tower *Ader*, in Genesis, must, from the tenor of the narrative, have been near Bethlehem, and that the *turris gregis nebulosa*, mentioned in Micah (iv. 8), which the tradition of the Jews supposed to have been the site of the temple, was a different tower, near or in Jerusalem. *Quest. in Genes.* (Opp., tom. iii., Edit. Vallarsii, Venet., 1767, col. 361, B. C.). In another place, describing the travels or pilgrimage of St. Paula, St. Jerome says: "*Haud procul inde*" [scil. a Bethlehem] "*descendit*" [Paula] "*ad turrim Ader, id est gregis; juxta quam Jacob pavit greges suos, et pastores nocte vigilantes audire meruerunt, Gloria in excelsis Deo,*" etc. *Epitaph. Paula, Epist. cviii. ad Eustochium* (Opp., ubi sup., tom. i. col. 699 D.).

* *Gadder*.—In a marginal note on the Hymn attributed to St. Hilary in praise of Christ (No. vii. *supra*), the angels are said to have first worshipped

Christ "*juxta turrim Gadder*."—See p. 153 (note on line 14). *Gadder* is an erroneous form of the name.

The tradition of the Hebrews, alluded to by St. Jerome, is probably the same as that preserved in the Targum of Jonathan on Gen. xxxv. 21, whose words are:—

| | |
|--|--|
| ויסע ונטל יעקב ופרס למשכניו מן להלא למנדלא דעדור אתרא דמתמן עתיד דאתגלי מלכא משיחא בסוף : יומיא | "And Jacob journeyed, and arose, and spread his tents beyond the tower of Eder, the place where the King Messiah shall reveal Himself, in the end of days." |
|--|--|

Here it is evident that the *Migdal Eder*, or Tower of Eder, near Bethlehem, is alluded to; for Bethlehem was known to the Jews, even before our Lord's Nativity, as the predicted birthplace of Messiah (Matt. ii. 4-6). But "the place where Messiah shall reveal Himself" was probably taken to signify the Temple, by the Jews who communicated or interpreted this tradition to St. Jerome.

The name *מגדל-עדור*, Tower of Eder (Gen. xxxv. 21, Mic. iv. 8), signifies *turris gregis*, as it is rendered in the Vulgate Version, and this may, perhaps, have given occasion to the tradition that the place so called near Bethlehem (a watch-tower probably for shepherds) was the place from which the shepherds (Luke ii.) saw the vision of angels, that announced the Nativity. Still it cannot be doubted, from the testimony of St. Jerome, and the words of the Targumist above quoted, that some ancient traditions of the Jews were connected with the place.

But there were certainly two places so called, one near Bethlehem, which, as we have seen, is that mentioned Gen. xxxv. 21; the other in or near Jerusalem, which is evidently the place intended, Mic. iv. 8^b.

It appears, from the passage above quoted, that Bede had a different reading of this latter text from that of the present Vulgate Version: "Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filie Sion usque ad te veniet" [instead of "Et tu turris gregis nebulosa filie Sion, ad te veniet"], which he interprets, "And as for thee, O dark tower of the flock, the daughters of Sion" [i.e. the angels who appeared to the shepherds] "shall come to thee." Whereas, the Vulgate is, "And thou, O dark tower of the flock of the daughter of Zion, it" [i.e. the kingdom] "shall come to thee." The English version, following the Masoretic punctuation, which separates *עפל* (rendered *nebulosa* by the *Vulg.*) from *מגדל-עדור*, the tower of Edar, is as follows:—"And thou, O tower of the flock" [*Margin*, "O tower of Edar"], "the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion."

But the accentuation followed by the Septuagint and Vulgate seems more probable, except that we ought, perhaps, to take *מגדל-עדור-עפל*, *Migdal-Edar-Ophel*, as a proper name, signifying, "the tower of Edar Ophel;" the epithet *Ophel* (Caliginosa, *Vulg.*, *αἰχμηόης*, LXX., or, as it may be also rendered, "of the hill"),

^b See Lightfoot, *Chorographical Decad.*, sect. 4, 5 (*Works* by Pitman, vol. x. p. 221, sq.)

having been, perhaps, added to distinguish it from the Tower of Edar near Bethlehem; so that the meaning will then be: "And thou, O Tower of Edar, of the hill, of the daughter of Zion" [i. e. of Jerusalem], "unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion."

That there was a place, and apparently a fortification, on, or near to, the walls of Jerusalem, which was called *Ophel*, is evident from 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 (where the Hebrew is, "on the wall of the Ophel," בְּחוֹמַת הָעֹפֶל). Comp. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, Neh. iii. 27, and xi. 21, where in every case the Masoretic punctuation understands the article, even when it is not expressed in the letters. And so Josephus, *De Bello Jud.*, lib. vi. c. 6, § 3, speaks of this place, τὸν Ὀφλῶν καλούμενον ὑψηλόν; so that it seems to have retained its name down to the latest period of Jewish history.—See Reland. *Palast.*, p. 855, who infers that Ophel was not a hill, from its not having been so called by Josephus. On the other hand, one of the most recent authorities on the geography of the Holy Land interprets the word "a swelling mound," from עֹפֶל, to *swell*. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, App., § 26, p. 490.

It should be observed, in conclusion, that the Septuagint translators, in Gen. xxxv., transpose the mention of Migdal Edar, and make Jacob to have encamped there before, not after, he came to the place where Rachel died: they have, in fact (if the present text be correct) inserted ver. 21 after the word *Bethel* in ver. 16; and they render it ἐπηγε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ πύργου Γαδέρ.

It was, probably, from the Septuagint, or from some Ante-Hieronymian Latin version founded on the Septuagint, that our Scholiast copied his spelling of the name *Turris Gadder* (p. 153, note); for "the Tower of *Gabder*," in the Preface to the present Hymn, is evidently a corruption of *Gadder*. But in the Preface, as given in the *Leabhar Breac* (see Note A, p. 182, *supra*) it is called "the tower *Ador*," as in the modern Latin Vulgate.

XI. THE MAGNIFICAT, OR HYMN OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

THERE is no need of any prefatory remarks to introduce to the reader the following well-known Hymn, which is taken from St. Luke, i. 46-55, and has formed a part of the service of the Church for at least a thousand years.

The following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is, as usual, in a mixture of Latin and Irish :—

Magnificat. Mary, the Mother of the Lord, made this Hymn; and it was in the time of Octavianus Augustus she made it; for in the forty-second year of his empire Christ was born; and it was in a certain mountain city of the mountains¹ of the tribe of Judah in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and this was the peculiar city of Zacharias. There John Baptist was born; and it was to that city that Mary came to visit Elizabeth, when she heard that she was pregnant, i. e. in the sixth month². And it was there that speech was restored to Zacharias, and that he composed the *Benedictus*; and it was then that she composed the *Magnificat*. And this was the cause³, viz., Mary came to visit Elizabeth the wife of Zacharias, because she heard that she was pregnant after a very long barrenness; for all her relations were visiting her. Therefore Mary entering the door of her house, Elizabeth said, whilst the babe moved in her womb, Behold the mother of my Lord hath come to me. And for this reason they say that John prophesied before he was born; and then Mary said, *Magnificat*; and at that time Mary conceived her Son.

There is a copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49, b, in marg. *inf.*), but it is so nearly identical with that here given, that it has not been thought worth while to transcribe it. The variations are little more than differences of spelling, or the use of Irish for Latin, and *vice versa*.

¹ *Of the mountains.*—See St. Luke, i. 39.

² *Sixth month.*—St. Luke, i. 36.

³ *The cause.*—i. e. the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.



MAGNIFICAT. Maria mater domini fecit hunc cōmnum. In tempore uero octauiani augurci fecit. in .xl. mo enim pecundo anno mperii eius cōnripitur natus erit. ocur ip in apale cacthpaig rhabba hi tpeib iuda hi paul hierupalem, ocur ip i pebe cacthup biler gachap. ibi iohanne baptista natus erit, 7 ip bon cacthpaigrein tanc maie do fir elisabeth in tan atchuala a bich alaāta .i. ipm t-pereb mīr. Ocur ip mēi do pacaber labna do gachap 7 ip mēi do pone gachap benedictur, 7 ip mēi do ponab Magnificat. 18 C imoppo in fochunb .i. maie tanc do fir elisabeth retche gachap, ap ic chuala a bich cōppach pōre longiprimam pcepilicatem. Omner enim cognati eius uiricabant. Inpant epgo maria hōprium bomur puae elisabeth bixit cum moratione infancip in utero suo, Cn macer domini uenit ad me 7 ob it bixit iohannem pproetapre antequam natus efferet. 7 tunc maria bixit magnificat, 7 in hoc tempore filium suum maria concepit.



MAGNIFICAT anima mea dominum
et exultauit spiritus meus in deo salu-
tari meo

Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae
ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent
omnes generationes

Gloss.—1. *Anima.*—Ejus anima dominum magnificat qui omnes interioris hominis affectus diuinis laudibus ac seruitiis mancipat. 2. *Salutari.*—i. ut dicit psalmista Anima mea exultabit Deo et dilectabitur super salutari suo. 3. *Humilitatem.*—i. virginitatem.

1. *Magnificat.*—A translation of the Preface has already been given, p. 186.

3. *Humilitatem.*—Under and over this line, in the form of a gloss, is the following note from Bede: “.i. Cujus humilitas respicitur recte ab omnibus beata cognominanda gratulatur, sicut e contrario superbia dispecta condemnatur Evæ. Ita sicut

intravit mors in mundum per superbiam Evæ, per humilitatem Mariæ vitæ panditur introitus humano generi.” It is remarkable that the erroneous interpretation of the name of Eve, which occurs in this passage, as now printed by the editors of Bede, is here omitted. The words following “condemnatur Evæ” in the printed

Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est 5
 et sanctum nomen eius
 Et misericordia eius in progenies et progenies
 timentibus eum
 Fecit potentiam in brachio suo
 dispersit superbos mente cordis sui 10
 Deposuit potentes de sede
 et exaltauit humiles
 Esurientes impleuit bonis
 et diuites demisit inanes
 Suscepit israel puerum suum 15
 memorare misericordiæ suæ

GLOSS.—7. *Progenies*.—i. In omni gente qui timet eum et operatur iusticiam. 9. *Potentiam*.—i. quia omnis per filium Dei patris facta sunt, ideo eum brachium domini dicitur [sic]. 10. *Superbos*.—i. filios diaboli quia initium est omnis peccati superbia. 11. *Potentes*.—i. confidentes in uirtute sua. *De sede*.—i. superbie. 12. *Humiles*.—i. qui dicunt cum apostolo omnia possumus in Christo. 13. *Esurientes*.—i. satiabantur perfecti quia eterna bona esuriant. *Bonis*.—i. celestibus. 14. *Diuites*.—i. qui de terrenis diuitiis superbiunt inanes totius beatitudinis demittuntur a domino in die iudicii. 15. *Suscepit*.—i. Deus.

editions are, "id est v̄e, sive calamitatis nomine muletata tabescit." But the reading of our MS. is, probably, correct, and these words are the addition of some ignorant transcriber, not of Bede.—*Comment. in Luc. i.* (Opp. ed. Giles, x. p. 295).

6. *Sanctum nomen*.—Over this line is the following note from Bede: "Sanctum nomen ejus vocatur quia singularis culmine potentie transcendit omnem creaturam." The printed editions of Bede read *potenti*, but "potentie" is certainly better. The Gloss as given above on lines 7 and 8 is also from Bede.

7. *In progenies*.—"A progenie in progenies" (*Fulg.*); but "in progenies et pro-

genies," was the reading of Bede.

10. *Superbos*.—In the margin there is this note: "Commemorat hic beata Maria quomodo per omne labentis seculi tempus Creator justus ac misericors et superbis resistere et humilibus dare gratiam consuevit." This is, no doubt, from some ancient author. *Dispersit*.—Dispersit.—*Fulg.*

15. *Suscepit*.—In the margin is the following note from Bede: "Bene autem Domini et Johannis exortum matres profectando præveniunt, ut sicut peccatum a mulieribus coepit, ita etiam bona a mulieribus incipiant, et quæ per unius deceptionem periit, duabus certatim præconan-

Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros
abraham et semini eius usque in seculum

Que maria plena gratia dominus tecum, benedicta tu inter
mulieres ⁊ benedicetur fructus ventris tui. Spiritus sanctus
puerperam in te ⁊ uirum alacriter obumbrabit tibi

Gloss.—17. *Ad patres*.—i. ad patriarchas. 18. *Semini*.—i. non carnale sed spiritale semen significat .i. filius promissionis in Christo.

tibus mundo vita reddatur."—*Comm. in Luc. i. 55.*

16. *Memorare*.—Recordatus, *Vulg.* Bede reads *Memorari*, and the Ante-Hieron. version (ap. Sabatier) has *memorid*.

18. *Semini*.—The gloss on this word is

from Bede. *Unque*.—Omitted in *Vulg.*, and in the Ante-Hieron. version edited by Sabatier from the MS. Colbert.

Ave Maria.—This is in the more angular character, already frequently spoken of, but by the original scribe.

XII. THE BENEDICTUS, OR HYMN OF ZACHARIAS.

THIS celebrated Hymn is taken from St. Luke i. 67-79; but the text differs both from the Ante-Hieronymian version and the modern Vulgate. Some of the more remarkable variations are given in the Notes. The Scholiast's Preface is in Latin, without any admixture of Irish. It may be thus translated:—

Benedictus Dominus. Zacharias, the father of John Baptist, made this Hymn (*hanc laudem*) to the Lord. And he made it in the time of Octavianus Augustus. The cause was this: Zacharias once on a time entered the temple to sacrifice for the people, after the manner of a priest, because he was born of the seed of Aaron, and of the course¹ of Abia in particular. It was the lot of his week; for from the time of David the priests were divided into twenty-four different courses², and each one exercised his ministry from Sabbath to Sabbath. For from the time of Aaron to David one succeeded the other³. Zacharias⁴ then, entering the temple, to make an offering for himself and for the people, looking to the right, saw the angel Gabriel sitting at the horn of the altar, who said to him, Fear not, for I have come not to bring thee fear, but joy. For Elizabeth shall bring forth unto thee a son, and he shall be called John, and he shall be great before God and men. And Zacharias said, How shall this be, seeing we have passed the time for having children? The angel answered, If a man were to promise thee this, thou mightest doubt his word; but I am an angel of God, and I stand in His presence, and I bring unto thee His words; and thou oughtest not to doubt what I have said; and, therefore, from this day until the boy is born, thou shalt not speak. And so it was, until that which was promised had been fulfilled. For Elizabeth conceived and bare a son, and the kinsmen inquired of his mother concerning the name of the boy, and his mother answered, He shall be called John; but others, contradicting, said that he should be called after the name of his father. But Elizabeth bade them ask his father to write the name of his son. Zacharias, therefore, being so called upon, spoke and said⁵, The boy shall be called John: and immediately he praised the Lord, saying, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.*

¹ *Course*.—"De vice [i. e. de vice] Abia." Luc. i. 5.

² *Courses*.—"Intercognitiones." The Vulg. uses the word *ices*. 1 Paral. xxiv. 19.

³ *The other*.—"Unus post unum tenebat."

⁴ *Zacharias*.—In the original "Stacharias."

—See p. 78, note on line 31, *supra*.

⁵ *Spoke and said*.—This varies from the Gospel narrative. It is curious that in the Book of Armagh the scribe had originally written *dixit*, but erased that word, and substituted "*scripsit dicens*."



BENEDICTUS DOMINUS. Zachariar pater iohannis baptista fecit hanc laudem domino. In tempore uero octauiani augusti fecit. Causa autem aliquando re-
 tachariar in templum ut immolaret populo more sacerdotali intravit. quia de
 femine aaron ⁊ de uice abia ppecialiter natus est. post eius septimanas fuit.
 A tempore enim dauis sacerdotium in xiiii intercogitationes diuerpar diuipum
 est. ⁊ a sabbato usque ad sabbatum unusquisque ministerio suo utebatur. A
 tempore enim aaron usque ad dauis unus post unum tenebat. Interant ergo
 reatariar in templum ut pro se ⁊ populo offerret accipiens in dexteram an-
 gelum gabrielem reudentem in cornu altarij uibit ⁊ dicentem tibi Noli timere
 quia non ad timorem tibi appropinquat sed ad gaudium ueni. Elisabeth enim
 pariet tibi filium ⁊ uocabitur iohannes ⁊ magnus erit coram deo ⁊ hominibus. ⁊
 reatariar dixit quomodo fiet hoc quoniam preterimiserit nos tempus parienti.
 Angelus perponit, Si homo tibi hoc promitteret beber uerba eius bubicare, ego
 uero angelus dei sum, ⁊ confecto in pphetia eius, ⁊ uerba eius tibi posco, ⁊ non
 beber bubicare que dixi. ⁊ ob id ab hac die usque puer natusur non loquerur. ⁊
 ita pactum est, donec impletum est quod promissum est. Concept enim elisa-
 beth ⁊ peperit filium, et cognati de nomine pueri matrem eius interrogabant. ⁊
 perponit mater eius iohannes uocetur. alij uero contrabitentur dicebant
 nomine patris uocetur. Elisabeth autem dixit ut rogarent patrem ut scribat
 nomen filij sui. Zachariar uero ita rogatur locutus est ⁊ dixit, uocetur puer
 iohannes. ⁊ continuo laudauit dominum dicendo benedictus dominus deus israhel.



BENEDICTUS DOMINUS DEUS ISRAEL
 quia uisitauit et fecit redemptionem plebis
 suae

EREXIT CORNU SALUTIS NOBIS
 IN DOMU DAUID PUERI SUI

Gloss.—2. *Visitauit.*—i. plebem hanc visitando suam esse fecit; quia sua
 fidei sublimitate eam perfecit. 3. *Cornu.*—i. cornu salutis, firmam celestium
 salutis dicit, cornu excedit carnem, et ideo cornu salutis regnum saluatoris
 christi vocatur.

1. *Benedictus.*—For a translation of
 the Preface, see last page. The Gloss
 has been taken altogether from Bede's

Commentary on St. Luke, cap. 1., al-
 though the text of the Hymn does not
 agree with that given in the printed works

Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum
propetarum suorum qui ab ævo sunt 5

Ut liberauit nos ab inimicis nostris
et de manu omnium qui nos oderunt

Quod faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris
et memorare testamenti sui sancti 10

Iurandum quod iurauit ad abraham
patrem nostrum daturum se nobis

Ut sine timore de manibus inimicorum nostrorum
liberati seruamus illi

In sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso
omnibus diebus nostris 15

Et tu puer propeta altissimi uocaberis
præcibus enim ante faciem domini parare uias eius

Gloss.—6. *Profetarum*.—Profetæ specialiter appellati sunt, qui de aduentu Christi manifeste sunt locuti. *Ab ævo*.—i. ab initio. 7. *Liberavit*.—i. filius Dei. 8. *De manu*.—i. de potestate. *Omnium*.—i. inimicorum. *Qui nos oderunt*.—i. homines perversos et immundos spiritus significat. De manu quorum et interim spe salvi facti sumus et in futuro re ipsa saluandi. 10. *Testamenti*.—i. disposuit Deus testamentum nos esse liberatum de semine patriarcharum. 11. *Ad Abraham*.—i. fides gentium et sacrosanctus ecclesiam cultus est promissus Abraham, Domino ad eum dicente, In te benedicuntur omnes gentes terræ. Dixit Dominus ad David, Cum impleveris dies tuos, ut uas ad patris tuos, suscitabo semen tuum, et ego ero ei in patrem, et ipse erit mihi in filium, ipse ædificabit mihi domum. 15. *In sanctitate*.—i. ostendit hic profeta quomodo Domino seruendum est, in sanctitate uidelicet et iustitia. 17. *Altissimi*.—i. audiant mansueti quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes profetando præbuit altissimum vocat. 18. *Præcibus*.—i. in vitam et mortem. *Parare*.—i. ut dixit parate uiam Domini rectas facite semitas Domini nostri. *Vias eius*.—i. Christi.

of that writer. It seems unnecessary to occupy space by pointing out these variations, or the abridgments and omissions in Bede's Commentary, necessary to reduce it to an interlinear gloss: any reader who has access to Bede can make this comparison for himself.

6. *Ab ævo*.—"Qui a seculo sunt propetarum ejus."—*Fulg.*

7. *Et liberauit*.—This is the reading of the Ante-Hieronymian version, instead of "salutem ex inimicis nostris," as in the modern Vulgate.—See Sabatier, *in loc.*

10. *Memorare*.—For "memorari." Here our MS. has the reading of the modern Vulg. The old version was "et memoratus est."

13. *De manibus*.—"De manu."—*Fulg.*

AD DANDAM SCIENTIAM SALUTIS PLEBI EIUS
IN REMISIONEM PECCATORUM EORUM

20

PER VISCERA MISERICORDIÆ DEI NOSTRI
IN QUIBUS VISITAVIT NOS ORIENS EX ALTO

ILLUMINARE HIS QUI IN TENEBRIS ET UMBRA MORTIS SEDENT
AD DIRIGENDOS PEDES NOSTROS IN VIA PACIS

Puer autem creperbat et confortabatur in p̄p̄itu et
erat in deper̄cip̄ locip̄ ur̄que ad diem optentionis̄ p̄uæ ad
Ih̄rael.

Gloss.—19. *Scientiam*.—i. futuram. 22. *Oriens*.—i. Ecce vir, inquit profeta, oriens nomen eius, qui ideo recte oriens vocatur, qui nobis ortum ueræ lucis aperiens, filios noctis et tenebrarum lucis effecit filios. 23. *Illuminare his*.—i. his qui in peccatis et ignorantie cecitate vixerunt, agnitionis amorique sui radios infundere. 24. *Pedes nostros*.—Pedes nostri in viam pacis diriguntur cum actionum nostrarum iter per omnia redemptoris nostri gratiæ concordat.

Puer autem.—i. predicator penitentiae futurus, optimum est ut solitudinis aspera sequatur.

17. *Altissimi*.—In the gloss on this word the allusion to the Arians in Bede is omitted. Bede's words are: "Audiant sane Arriani, et erubescant; audiant mansueti, et lætentur, quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes prophetando præibat, Altissimum vocat." The allusion is to Ps. xxxiii. 3, *Vulg.*

22. *Oriens*.—The Gloss refers to Zech. vi. 12; and is taken from Bede on Luc. i. 78.

23. *Sedent*.—Here our MS. follows the

modern Vulg. The old version was, "qui in tenebris sunt, et in umbra mortis sedentibus."

24. *In via*.—In viam. *Vulg.*

Puer autem.—This verse, which is from St. Luke, i. 80, is in the smaller character. It differs from the modern Vulg. in reading "in spiritu" for *spiritu*; and "desertis locis" for *desertis*: but agrees with it in reading "ostensionis" instead of "progressionis," as in the older version. See Sabatier, *in loc.*

XIII. TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

THIS celebrated Hymn has no Preface, like the other Hymns in this volume, if we except the short title, "Hæc est Laus Sanctæ Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus, et Ambrosius composuit."

This is an evident allusion to the legend, that the hymn was composed at the baptism of St. Augustine, one verse being uttered by him, and the next, alternately, by St. Ambrose, who baptized him. The earliest authority for this story is believed to be the Chronicle once attributed to Dacius, Bishop of Milan, A. D. 527, but now known to be of a much later date, inasmuch as it carries on the history to A. D. 1067 (*vid. Cave, Hist. Liter., sub Dacio*, tom. i. p. 511, Oxon. 1740). But from the allusion to it here, it appears that the story was more widely known at that period, and had found its way to Ireland.

Abbo of Fleuri attributes the authorship of the *Te Deum* without hesitation to St. Hilary of Poitiers. He calls it "Dei palinodia, quam composuit Hilarius Pictaviensis episcopus," and suggests that the reading *suscepisti* (which must, therefore, have been ancient, and which, it will be observed, is the reading of our MS.) is erroneous; for he says it ought to be, "Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem," &c. Accordingly, this has ever since been, or at least is now, the received reading, although it is very doubtful whether the old *suscepisti* was not better. See note on the passage, p. 197, line 23, *infra*.

Archbishop Ussher appears to have had in his possession a copy of the Irish Book of Hymns, in which the *Te Deum* was ascribed to one Nicetas²;

¹ *Abbo of Fleuri*.—Quoted by the Bened. editors of St. Hilary's works, *Pref.*, p. vii. n. 22. The passage occurs in the "Prologus in Abbonis libellum de Grammatica," written by Abbo in the form of a letter on the occasion of his mission to England, A. D. 985,

and addressed to the English monks of his order. It is published by Mabillon, *Annal.*, lib. xlix. n. 69, tom. iv. p. 29, and *Append.*, p. 687.

² *Nicetas*.—See above, p. 9; and Ussher's Works, by Elrington, vii. 300.

and he adds that, in a Gallican Psalter², then in the Cotton Library, written about the time of Henry I. (A.D. 1100), it is attributed to St. Nicetius, who may, perhaps, be the Bishop of Treves (A.D. 541), or the Bishop of Lyons of the same name (A.D. 570), or some other, but probably the same to whom the Irish authority attributed it under the name of Nicetas.

An excellent summary of what has been written on the question of the authorship of this Hymn will be found in the notes of Meratus to the *Thesaur. Sacror. Rituum* of Barth. Gavantus, *Aug. Vind.*, 1763, fol., tom. ii. p. 162, sq. See also Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 279, sq.

In the Antiphony of Bangor the *Te Deum* is entitled, "Hymnus in die Dominico." The readings of this MS., as edited by Muratori, are marked B. in the following Notes.

² *Psalter*.—"In Latino-Gallico quoque psalterio, circa tempore Henrici I. exarato inscribitur iste hymnus Sancti Niceti (Hibernicæ nostræ traditioni satis consentane) sive Tre-

verensis hic intelligendus fuerit Nicetius sive Lugdunensis, sive quis alius."—*Ibid.* This Psalter no longer exists in the remains of the Cotton Library in the British Museum.



hec est laus sanctae Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus et Ambrosius composuit.



LAUDATE pueri dominum
laudate nomen domini

Te deum laudamus
te dominum confitemur

Te aeternum patrem
omnis terra ueneratur

5

Tibi omnes angeli
tibi caeli et universae potestates

Tibi hiruphin et saraphin
incessabili uoce proclamant dicentes
sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth

10

pleni sunt caeli et universa terra
honore gloriae tuae

Gloss.—3. *Laudamus*.—i. ore, vel opere. 4. *Confitemur*.—i. corde. 11. *Sanctus*.—i. sanctus ter dicitur, quia unus et trinus est deus. 12. *Universa terra*.—i. ecclesia per quadratum orbem diffusa non desinit laudare et orare deum.

1. *Laudate*.—This verse prefixed to the *Te Deum* is from Ps. cxii. 1., *Vulg.* It occurs also in B.

7. *Hiruphin*.—In the margin there is the following note: "Sciendum est quod hiruphin et saraphim per .m. litteram prolata iuxta proprietatem linguae ebraeae masculini sunt et pluralis numeri tantum.

Si autem per .n. litteram dicantur graeca sunt et neutri generis, et pluralis numeri." In B. we have "Cherubim et Seraphim;" but Muratori has everywhere altered the orthography of the MS.

10. *Dicentes*.—Om. B. and *Vulg.* But it is found in the Vat. MS. 82, cited by Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 298.

Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus
te profetarum laudabilis numerus

15

Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitus
te per orbem terrarum sancta conspicitur aeclesia

Patrem immensae maiestatis tuae
venerandum tuum verum et unigenitum filium

Sanctum quoque paracletum spiritum
tu rex gloriae christe

20

Tu patris sempiternus es filius
tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem

Non horruisti virginis uterum
tu devicto mortis aculeo
aperuisti crebentibus regna caelorum

25

Gloss.—14. *Apostolorum*.—i. misorum. 15. *Profetarum*.—i. providentium. 16. *Martirum*.—i. fidelium.

12. *Univerſa terra*.—B. also reads *univerſa*; but the word is omitted in the Vulgate text of this Hymn.

13. *Honore*.—So also B. The common text has *Majestatis*.

18. *Tuae*.—Om. B. *Tuae* is omitted also in the Vulgate text of this Hymn.

19. *Unigenitum*.—The Vulgate text is *unicum*. But B., as also the *Cod. Thomasi Alex.*, cited by Daniel, *ubi ſupr.*, read *unigenitum*. B. omits *et*.

23. *Tu ad liberandum*.—The common reading is, "Tu, ad liberandum suscepturus hominem," which is rendered in the Prayer-Book of the Anglican Church, "When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man." But "ad liberandum suscepturus hominem" would seem rather to

mean, "when Thou wast about to take upon Thee man [i. e. human nature], for the purpose of deliverance, Thou didst not abhor," &c. Perhaps the translators of the English Prayer-Book may have intended the insertion of a parenthesis, "when Thou tookest upon Thee (to deliver) man, Thou didst not abhor," &c. But it would be very difficult to make this intelligible in reading. Some of the old English versions which we find in the Primers of the fifteenth century appear to have omitted *suscepturus*, for they read, "Thou wert not skoymous [squeamish] of the maydens womb to delyuer mankind."—Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Anglie*, vol. ii. p. 14. Others seem to have connected *suscepturus* and *virginis uterum*, "Thou

Tu ad dexteram dei sedes in gloria patris
iudex crederis esse venturus

Tu ergo quæssimus nobis tuis famulis subueni
quos pretioso sanguine redemisti

30

Eternam fac cum sanctis tuis gloriam munerari
saluum fac populum tuum domine
et benedic hereditati tue
et rege eos et extolle illos usque in seculum

Gloss.—32. *Populum*.—i. christianum. 33. *Hereditati*.—i. ecclesiae. 34. *Rege*.—i. in bonis operibus. *Extolle*.—i. defende. *In seculum*.—i. in uita æterna.

wert noȝt skoymes to take the maidenȝe wombe, for to deliver mankynde."—*Ibid.*, p. 231. In the Primer of 1535, as edited by Dr. Burton (*Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Oxford, 1834, p. 82), this verse is thus rendered: "Thou (when Thou shouldest take upon Thee our nature to deliver man) didst not abhor the virgin's womb." It appears from these discrepancies that there was anciently a difficulty in the interpretation of this passage.—Comp. Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. 299. But our MS. agrees with B., inserting the word *mundum*, and giving *suscipisti* for *suscipiturus*. These readings remove all difficulty, and are very probably the true text: "Thou tookest upon Thee man to deliver the world; Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb: Having overcome the sting of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to believers."

27. *Sedes*.—This is the modern reading. But B. has *sedens*, which is better. *In gloria patriæ*.—It is doubtful whether

the construction should be *sedes* [*sedens*] in *gloria Patriæ*—"Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father," or, in *gloria Patriæ iudex venturus*, "We believe that Thou shalt come, in the glory of the Father, to be our Judge."

29. *Tu*.—Te, B., which is also the modern text. *Nobis*.—Omitted in Vulg. text. But B. reads *nobis*. *Quæssimus*.—For *Quæsumus*.

31. *Eternam fac*.—The common text, as given in the Roman Breviary, and translated in the English Prayer-Book, is, "*Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari*," "Make them to be numbered with thy saints, in glory everlasting." But B. and all copies of the *Te Deum* which I have seen in any MS. older than the sixteenth century, have, "*Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis* [B. omits *tuis*] *gloria munerari*," or "in [or cum] *gloria munerari*," which the old English versions published by Mr. Maskell render, "Make hem to be rewardid with thi seyntyntis: in blisse, with everlasting glorie (*Mo-*

PER SINGULOS DIES BENEDICIMUS TE
ET LAUDAMUS NOMEN TUUM IN AETERNUM
ET IN SECVLUM SECVLI.

35

FIAT DOMINE MISERICORDIA TUA SUPER NOS
QUEMADMODUM SPERAUIMUS IN TE.

Gloss.—35. *Per singulos dies*.—1. in prosperis et in adversis sine ullo intervallo te benedicimus.
38. *Fiat*.—1. oratio ecclesiae.

num. Rit. ii. 14), or "Make hem to be rewarded with thi seyntis in endeles blisse" (*ibid.*, 230, 232); and every one acquainted with the black letter writing of the fifteenth century will at once see how easily *munerari* may be mistaken for *numerari*. That *munerari* is the true reading, can scarcely, I think, admit of a doubt; but *aternam* and *gloriam* are certainly corrupt, and scarcely make sense. We ought, evidently, to read *eterna* and *gloria*, as in B. It is also clear that the English Prayer-Book and older versions have misinterpreted this passage by the insertion of the word *them*: "Make them," &c.; for the construction plainly is, "Quos redemisti fac munerari," and the verse, "whom thou hast redeemed," ought therefore to be connected with that which follows, not with that which precedes: "We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants: make Thou to be rewarded with Thy saints, in glory everlasting, those whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood." Daniel says: "Procul dubio in hac voce" [*munerari*] "tenes scripturam antiquissimam et genuinam. *Numerari* primum occurrit in Brev. Italis v. c. in Franc. anni 1495" [i. e. a Franciscan Breviary, printed at Venice in that

year] "et Ig." [by these letters he refers to the *Heures a l'usage de Lengres*, printed at Troyes, without a date]. "Seculo decimo sexto ecclesia Romana in ejusmodi litibus interdum *ιταλίζουσα* recentiorem scripturam in textum recepit."—*Loc. cit.*

32. *Salvum fac*.—This is Ps. xxvii. 9. *Fulg.* The *Te Deum*, properly so called, ends at line 31: all that follows is from the Psalms, and, as will be seen (see note on line 38), was varied at different times, and in different MSS.

34. *In seculum*.—Ad seculum, B. The common text reads, "in aeternum."

35. *Per singulos*.—This is Ps. cxliv. 2, *Fulg.*, with the change of *benedicimus* and *laudamus* for *benedicam* and *laudabo*.

36. *In aeternum*.—The common text reads in *seculum*. B. reads in *eternum*.

37. *Seculi*. B. adds *Amen*.

38. *Fiat Domine*.—Ps. xxxii. 22, *Fulg.* The common text reads, "Fiat misericordia tua, Domine," but B. agrees with our MS. Between lines 37 and 38 our MS. omits the two verses of the common text, "Dignare Domine, die isto, sine peccato nos custodire: miserere nostri Domine, miserere nostri;" and after v. 38 it also omits the verse, "In te Domine speravi: non confundar in aeternum." And the

Τε πατrem adoramus eternum. τε pempiternum filium inuocamus. τεque ppiitum pantum in una diuinitatis pbrtantia manentem confitemur.

Τibi uni deo in trinitate debitar laudes γ gratiar pferimus ut τε inceppabili uoce laudare mereamur per eterna pecula.

same verses are omitted in B. These are, therefore, in all probability, interpolations of a later date. The last is obviously taken from Ps. xxxi. 1, or Ps. lxxi. 1, and *Miserere nostri* is from Tob. viii. 10 (*Fulg.*) The other verse, *Dignare Domine*, occurs, as Ussher has remarked, in the Greek *Hymnus Vespertinus*, which he has published in his *Tract. de Symbolo Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, p. 43 (*Works*, Elrington's edit., vol. vii. p. 337); and he might have added, that there also it is preceded by

the verse, *Per singulos dies*, from Ps. cxliv. 2.

Te patrem.—What follows, although by the same scribe, is in a somewhat different and more angular character, and was not, therefore, intended as a part of the *Te Deum*. It does not occur in B.; but Ussher found it in his copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*, and quotes it without any variation, as above, except that the concluding words were in his copy, “per eterna secula seculorum. Amen.”

XIV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "ALTUS PROSATOR"

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan from an ancient copy of the Book of Hymns, supposed to be that which is now at St. Isidore's in Rome. He tells us that in that MS. it had two Prefaces, partly in Latin and partly in Irish, of which he has given only the substance; and that there were Arguments prefixed to each stanza, of which he has translated the Irish words¹ that occurred intermixed with Latin in the original, his object in the publication having been historical or religious, not philological. It is evident, however, that the text of the Hymn, as Colgan has printed it, is in many places corrupt, arising from errors of the press, or of transcription, so that there is great need of a more correct and careful edition of it. But it unfortunately happens that a leaf of the Dublin MS. is lost, which renders the present text imperfect from stanza O to X, inclusive: and the only other copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access,—that preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, a MS. of the fifteenth century, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy,—is even still more defective, all being lost after stanza H. We must, therefore, still depend upon Colgan's copy for the missing stanzas.

The *Altus* of St. Columba, in one account of it, is said to have been composed as a penitential exercise for the three battles², of which he had been the occasion in Ireland;—but a second tradition, recorded also in the Preface, tells us that it was an extemporaneous effusion. The former account represents it to have been composed, after seven years of study, in the Black Church of Derry,

¹ *Irish words*.—"Hymnus primus habuit duas præfationes, partim Latino, partim Hibernico idiomate præfixas, quarum summam tantum hic exhibemus. Singule etiam strophæ, seu capitula, habent præfixa sua argumenta, que ab aliquo veteri Scholiasta videntur adjectæ, in quibus nihil immutavimus,

nisi quod quedam hinc inde interjecta verba Hibernica, reddamus Latina."—Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 473.

² *Battles*.—See Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 253, who quotes the preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*; which will be found, with a translation, in Addit. Note A.

in Ireland: the latter states that it was uttered extemporaneously in Hy. Few can doubt that, if we are to treat such legends as deserving of criticism, the former is in every point of view the more probable tradition. O'Donnell¹ (if we may trust Colgan's version) omits all mention of the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

It is remarkable that the *Altus* has not been mentioned by Adamnan; but this circumstance cannot, perhaps, be urged as an argument against the authenticity of the Hymn, because the plan of Adamnan's work did not necessarily require him to notice the writings of St. Columba. If, however, a mission from St. Gregory the Great to the distant Abbot of Hy had been the occasion of a miraculous composition of this Hymn,—and miraculous it must have been, if so elaborate a production had been extemporaneous,—it would very naturally have fallen within the scope of St. Adamnan's memoir; and the circumstance could scarcely have been omitted by him, if he had known of it. We may, therefore, fairly conclude, that this legend, at least, if not the Hymn itself, was unknown to Adamnan.

But there is no reason why we should reject the former and less marvellous tradition—that the Hymn, if genuine, was composed in Ireland, before St. Columba's removal to Hy; and it is probable that the story of a mission from Rome to that *Ultima Thule* of Christendom, with gifts and relics presented by Pope Gregory the Great to Columba, was a legend invented after the time of Adamnan.

The Hymn is written in a rude Latinity, each strophe of six (or, as in the first stanza, seven) double lines, beginning with a letter of the alphabet in order; the metre a species of Trochaic dimeter, or tetrameter, as Bede calls it (see p. 163, note ^b), to be scanned without synalephe, with a rhyme or assonance at the end of the lines. Thus the first strophe, divided into its lines, will be as follows:—

Altus prositor vetustus,
Dierum et ingenitus,
Erat absque origine,
Primordi et crepidine,
Est et erit in secula,
Seculorum infinita.
Cui est unigenitus

Christus et Sanctus Spiritus.
Coeternus in gloria
Deitatis perpetua.
Non tres Deos depromimus,
Sed unum Deum dicimus,
Salva fide in personis
Tribus gloriosissimis.

¹ O'Donnell.—*Vit. quinta S. Columbæ*, lib. ii. See Addit. Note A, where the passage from c. 20, 21, *ap. Colgan. Triad. Thaum.*, p. 412. O'Donnell is given.

There cannot be a doubt that the Hymn is of considerable antiquity, and that it is Irish. It quotes in many places a Latin version of the Scriptures older than the recension of St. Jerome; it is written in a barbaric style, with many words of rare occurrence—some of them unknown even to the researches of Du Cange. Dr. Reeves has noticed the word *Dialis*, which seems peculiar to this Hymn and to Adamnan, in the sense of *divine*, *sacred*¹. Some other examples will be pointed out in the Notes.

In the following pages the Hymn has been printed as in the MS., with two lines in one—the double line consisting of sixteen syllables, as stated in the ancient Preface.

To each strophe, or stanza, is prefixed a Scholium, containing what the *Vetus Scholiasta*, as Colgan terms him, calls "The Title" and "The Argument." The *Title* is a short summary, in Latin, of the subject treated of in the stanza to which it is prefixed. The *Argument* is a text—sometimes two or more texts—of Scripture, on which the principal thought or subject-matter of the stanza is founded. Thus *The Title* of stanza A is, "*De Unitate et Trinitate trium Personarum.*" The *Argument* (Dan. vii. 9), "*Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam.*" See these Scholia translated in Addit. Note C.

In the Additional Notes will be found the Preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*, with the Gloss and Scholia of the same MS.; the Preface, as abridged and translated into Latin by Colgan from the MS. supposed to be now in Rome; and an attempt to give an English translation of the entire Hymn.

In the notes at the bottom of the pages the various readings of Colgan's printed copy are marked C.; and those of the MS. fragment in the *Leabhar Breac* are marked B.

¹ See Reeves, *Adamnan. Glossar. in voce.*



LOCUS huius cmmi hī. Tempus Aedān meice Dabrdān nīg Alban, ocup Aeda meice
Aimnepech nīg hepen. Mupiciur autem uel foccar ipse ba nī romā tunc.
Penro Collumeille de nobile genepe pceotopum. Columba dicitur ut epe epeote
ppubenter pcut peppenter et pmplicei pcut columbae. Caura quia uoluit
beum laudare. Pen sepeim annor hunc cmmum pepucant in nīgra cellula pme
lumine .i. ap chuinchib dīlguba in inab cacha cule bpemne do bpīrīb fōr Dīarpmat
mac Cepball. 7 na cacha aile po bpīrce epe na fōcūn. Uel ut alī dicunt, ip co
hopunn do ponab .i. apale lache po bōī columelle in hī, 7 nī bāi nech oca aē
bōfclm, 7 nī bōf biab oecu aē epiachap corca. Arberte iapum Columelle fpi
bāichn, do foilez oīgīo huaplū cucunn mīu a bāichn .i. mūneip Dīguip cāncā
car conapceabab dōrom; 7 arbertepom fpi bāichn, bī fōrīp īcpīchalam na nōgezo
conbīgīrpa don mūlunn. Dāibīpōm fapī a epe dīapale chloīch bōf ip mīb pecler .i.
blachnat a hainm, 7 mapab beop, 7 ip fupīp do gīnīchen pōinn ipīn pīpōnīcīg. ba
epom epā lepeom a epe, conbepna in immūnīp epīa opō arpīrīepch, o ēa pen con
bīce in mūlenn .i. abīuep labōpānīcīum 7c. In ean imōpīo do pāc in cēt fōca
ip in mūlenn ip ann do chuarb īcenn in chetna capīrīll, ocup ip īmmalle pōpcaīch
in bōlc do blīch 7 in cīmīnīn do benām. Ocup ip co hōpōnn do ponab pīc. Ip in
choīerīb blīabām pēpcaī ar .cccc. iap nīgeīp epīrīe do chuarb colum cille do hī, ut
bēba dīcīe, anno dōmīnīcae īncōpānācīōnīp .ccccxv. quo tempore gubēpnaculum
romānī īmpēpī pōrē iupīcīmānūm iupīcīnūp mīnōp accepic. Uenīe de hībēpnīa pīep
pīcep ec abbuīp hābīuī ec uīca monachī īpīgnīp nōmīne Columbī bīpīcīōnīam pīep
bīcācūpūp uēpībūm Dēī pīuīncīpīp pēpīcīpīōnālūm pīcīōpūm. bīpībī autem
fīlīup Mīlchōn pēgebat pīcīōr tunc, ec ipīe īmmolauīe columbo hī, ubī columbūp
cūm eppēc annōpūm .lxxvī. pepulcūp epe. Pōrē uēpīo .xxxiī. ex quo ipīe bīpīc
nām pīepīcācūpūp abīue.

Ruad epā in cīmīnōnīa do gīpīupīp fapī, īcōmmāīn na nāpīceba tūccha huab .i. in ēpōīp,
.i. in mōpīge a hūīnpīrīb, 7 īmmāīn na pēchēmaīne. Ro clōīmēlōīpēc īmōpīo na
īmmām. chuīpīchībe epī capīrīl ann do ponab Dīguīp .i. hīc pūblācūp, ocup opbēm,
7 uōgacūp. O bōchoīap īmōpīo 7 cenn capīpēna mīb īmmūīn do gīpīupīp, do bēo
chacāp āngīl de combīpīp īnnāpēpīpōm cōpīpōīchēb lēpōem in capīrīl pen, ac epīa
gēb gīpīupīp ap a pōīnn pēom cōnnīce pen. O pōpēchēb īmōpīo pen nō pābīcīp
īnna hāngīl, nō pābēb dīna Dīguīpīp, co cāpīcīc īncīmīnūm fōndīnnāp fīn. Ro choīch
lāīg epā Dīguīpīp a cōīpīpēna cucupōm apīpō pīcīpīpōm īce nō chōīmēlōīpēc. ac bē
pācīpōm dīna ba hīac. 7 pōpībōe dīlgub de. Ocup acbēpīpīpōm nōbbāī lōche fōr fīn
cīmīnūm aēc a lāīgē do mōlab in epīnōīcī ann pēp fē, cīa nō mōlab epīa na bālīb.
Ocup do pōachē in cīnīpēchābīpīn co columelle, 7 ipē pēīn pōchūn bēnma in cē
chīpīrīce. Opō arpīrīepch fīl hīc mōpē ebpēo, apīmbīpīp cāchalca tūcāb pōcha in
cāpīrīlīp .i. epīcēm oenacāb co fōīpīcīn epēbacāb. Epē nīchīm dīna do ponab, 7 bī
epīnāl fūpīpīpīp .i. apīcīpīcīalīp 7 uūlgāpīp. Apīcīpīcīalīp ubī pīuīne epāīgīb cōmām

repba compoblade cocucpummar po aipre 7 teip. 7 conop rubrequenr ctilloc ppe-
cebentip innacuaplucab. vulgariip imoppo bu imbi impecta pillab 7 ceethpamethin
ocur lechpam, 7 ipre ón pil hic. Sé line dna in ceeh capitel. 7 .xii. pillaba ceeh
lin cen mocha in cee capitel. iii. line imoppo anbroin ap ip molab be pil amipbe.
Cubab dna mb numuip ecucpummarin ppur na capitel archena ap ecucpumma bia
ppa bulib. Numip paba autem in creaturip quia rex diebur factae sunt.
Oporet et titulum et argumentum epre ante unumquemque capitulum.

Ropé epa blize gabala huius qmni eo pa gabcha quip potest Deo etip ceeh ba capitel, 7
ipre no biab a pach pap apur amlab po chanac ppiur. Actaat epa pacha imba pap
mb immunpa, .i. angil ippecnapcur ceebcehup ic o gabail. Ni finnpa demunpét inel
nob géba ceeh bia. 7 ni imberpae dna namait he ipmb lo in géba. ocur dna ni bia
debat ip in eiz inhgebhap cognatich. Angib dna ap ceeh mbap aet ece ppi
abapce. 7 dna ni bia gopca na noéca ip in ppur in gebéap commencie 7 aliae multae
punc.

ISSC in titul de unitate 7 trinitate epum ppponarum. Ip pi
imoppo mb argamant in canon papra pchaigcep in capitel ur in
Danielo uel in Epia legitur, Ueturcup diepum pebebat papp pebem
ruam. Ueturcup diepum aeternur tempom epac. Ueturcup diepum
deur diecup, ppo multitudine diepum ante quor deur epac, uel
quia fuit [ante] omnia tempora. Canon dna pacha ba beppcom
into quia ipre pppoea fuit. Ocur 6 Damul papiub euc ap ipre
po po debenchu 7 po po roepiu. Ipe dna Columille po po deben-
chu 7 po po roepiu po pchib hEppenn.

ALTUS prositor uetustus dierum et ingenitus
erat absque origine primordii et crepibine
est et erit in secula seculorum infinita
cui est unigenitus christus et sanctus spi-
ritus
coaeternus in gloria dietatis perpetuae
non tris deos depromimus sed unum deum
dicimus
salua fide in personis tribus gloriosissimis

Gloss.—1. *Prositor*.—i. genitor, .i. intabbul . . . [the awful . . .]. *Uetus-
tus*.—i. eternus, .i. pmtich na namper, .i. piniu 7 coipech biap tempora [i. senior
of the times, i. elder and first of our times]. *Dierum*.—i. temporum. 2. *Absque ori-
gine*.—i. cen achap no cen bunad [without father, or without origin]. 3. *Secula*.
—i. futurorum. *Seculorum*.—i. presentium. 4. *Unigenitus*.—Primogenitus, quia nemo
ante ipsum est, unigenitus quia nemo post ipsum est. *Christus*.—Misias ebraice, Christus
grece, Uetus latine. 7. *Salua*.—i. integra.

1. *Altus*.—For a translation
of the Preface, and of the Scho-

lia or arguments prefixed to each stanza,
see Add. Notes A and C. It will be ob-

Isē in cīcul. De formatione. ix. znabuum. trībur ppaeternūpīr non per ignonantiam feb ppo anguria capiculi ppaeternūpīr. Isī inoppo ino argamant. Hīac lux 7 facta ēre.

Bonos creavit angelos ordines et archangelos
principatum ac sedium potestatum uirtutum.
ut non esset bonitas otiosa ac maiestas
trinitatis in omnibus largitatis muneribus
sed haberet celestia in quibus preuigilia
ostenderet magnopere possibili patimine.

10

GLOSS.—8. *Archangelos*.—i. bonos. 9. *Sedum*.—i. tronl. *Uirtutum*.—i. causa rithmi. 10. *Uti*.—i. ut. *Bonitas*.—i. benevolentia. *Otiosa*.—i. sine operatione. i. antach no bñmā cen-
maine boēpmiut [dilatatory or lazy, without giving away goods]. 12. *Haberet*.—i. ut. *Celestia*.—i. elimenta vel ministeria. *Precipitia*.—i. napemibā 7 nā honope, i. cech znab opaitu [i. e. the pre-eminentes and honors, i. e. of each more beautiful grade], i. quasi privata lex. 13. *Magnopere*.—i. on mōgmum. no in mōgmnechb, i. commōp, i. ōno ayner pochmai, i. on mōlāb pochmai bo bepac angil bīcenep pūncup pūncup pūncup bōmīp [i. e. from the great deed, or the great agent, i. very great, i. from the glorious testimony, i. from the glorious praise which the angels give, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord].

served that in the Scholium prefixed to this stanza, Dan. vii. 9, is quoted from an Ante-Hieronymian version: *vetustus*, not *antiquus*, dicrum. It is curious that the scholiast seems uncertain whether this passage was in Daniel or Isaiah: but the words "vel in Esaia" were probably the insertion of some transcriber. They occur in C, but not in B. *Prosator*.—Pro-sator, C. Prosetor, B. *Prosator* is Father, Creator, from *prosero*, to bring forth, beget. The Gloss explains the word *genitor*. The Isidorian Glossaries have "*Prosatrīx*, genetrīx." *Opp. Isidori Hisp.*, tom. vii. (*Append.*, xxiv. p. 483) 4°, Romæ, 1803. *Dierum*.—To be read as a trisyllable.

2. *Primordii*.—Primordio, C. Primordi, B. It must be pronounced *Primordi* to suit the metre. *Crepidine*.—*Κρηνίς*, border, edge, foundation. *Crepido* is used frequently in the Vulgate, Ex. ii. 5; Lev. i. 15; Judic. vii. 22, *et alibi*. The Greek

Κρηνίς is explained, *gradus, basis, ripa, fundamentum*, *Glossar. in Octateuch*: *κρηνίς*, *fundamentum, basis*. Ezek. xlii.

14. *Aquil* and *Fulg*.

4. *Christus*.—The Gloss on this word is from Isidor. *Etymolog.*, lib. xvii. c. 2, n. 6.

5. *Dietatis*.—Deitatis, C. *Perpetuae*.—Perpetua, C. A more recent hand has written "vel a" over the final ae in the MS. Perpetua is necessary to rhyme with *gloria*.

6. *Tris*.—Tres, C. *Dicimus*.—"Dām," C., an evident mistake; for *Domini* would be inconsistent with the rhyme.

7. *Salva*.—Under this line are the words in ipīr chachalacba [the Catholic faith], with some other words very obscure, but which may be read 7 pop a inchaib bōmpa [may I be on its protection].

DE TRANSMIGRATIONE .i. x. graduum principis, ipse in cicul. Quid apoc-
 ally inprobo de bepar in apgamante id est ubi peccata de celo ceciderunt in
 terram. et in epica, quomodo ceciderit Lucifer qui mane oriebaris.

Celi de regni apice stationis angelicæ
 claritate præfulgoris venustate speciminis
 superbiendo ruerat Lucifer quem formauerat
 apostataeque angeli eodem lapsu lugubri
 auctoris cenodoxiae pernicacis inuidiae
 ceteris remanentibus in suis principatibus. 15

Gloss.—15. *Speciminis*.—i. ignee [form, beauty]. 16. *Lucifer*.—i. lucem ferens. *Formaverat*.—
 i. Deas. 17. *Apostate*.—i. ruerat, i. na hangil lufceimmeecha, i. ondiruno eueim [i. the
 lapsed angels, i. from their lamentable fall]. *Lugubri*.—i. chomtesch [lamentable], i. uotub
 peim et alup [from themselves and others] quia demonum suum lapsum lugent. 18. *Cenodoxiae*.—i.
 inanis glorie vel superbiae, vel na glope epcone [the common glory] nam cenon grece comune latine
 dicitur, i. epcon [common] doxia vero gloria. *Pernicacia*. Pervicax dicitur qui in proposito suo per-
 verat uque in victoriam. 19. *Ceteris*.—i. angelis.

8. *Honos*.—In the Scholium prefixed to
 this stanza, or *capitulum*, the text *Fiat
 lux* is quoted as the record of the crea-
 tion of angels, who are generally as-
 sumed by divines to have been included
 in the word *Light*.—See Isidor. Hispal.,
Sentent., lib. i. c. 10, n. 3, who says,
 "ante omnem creaturam angeli facti sunt,
 dum dictum est, *Fiat lux*." The nine
 orders or degrees of angels are usually
 enumerated thus: Angeli, Archangeli,
 Throni, Dominationes, Virtutes, Princi-
 patus, Potestates, Cherubim, Seraphim.
 See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, lib. vii.
 c. 5. Of these our author mentions only
 six, omitting three (viz., Dominationes,
 Cherubim, and Seraphim), which the
 Scholiast tells us were omitted, not be-
 cause he was ignorant of them, but be-
 cause he found it impossible to bring them
 into the limits of his verse. The Gloss
 informs us that the author gave the name
 of *sedes* to one of these orders, instead of

throni, and that he wrote *virtutum*, in-
 stead of *virtutum*, for the sake of the
 metre. In the margin there are the fol-
 lowing notes: one in Latin (which the
 Editor has not found in the works of Isi-
 dore)—"Ante omnem diem et ante omne
 tempus condidit Deus angelicam creatu-
 ram et informem materiam, Isidorus di-
 cit." The other in Irish:—*Ir aipe po
 fechmall hipuphín 7 rapaphín pech
 na hí aile apice aca na o domuib iap
 necapagnu 7 acpeb. Ipeac po .i. na .ix.
 ngapora .i. angeli archangeli uirpu-
 cer potepceatep pppincipatep domina-
 cione epni hipuphím 7 rapaphím.*
 ["The reason he has passed over the Hiru-
 phin and Saraphin beyond the others is,
 because they are farther from men in their
 distance and residence. And these are the
 nine orders, viz., angels, archangels, vir-
 tues, powers, principalities, dominions,
 thrones, Hiruphim, and Saraphim"]. *Or-
 dines*.—Archangelos et ordines, C.

De puina diabuli in ritual .i. be. moratione nominis Luciferi in braco-
nem. ipi in oppo inb argamante, ut est in apocalippi Ecce braco puphur
habent capita .iii. ꝥ copnia .x. ꝥ cauba eiur tꝥaxit tecum ceptiam pap-
tem pioepum uel peellapum.

Draco magnus deterrimus terribilis et antiquus 20
qui fuit serpens lubricus sapientior omnibus
bestis et animantibus terræ peracioribus
terciam partem siberum traxit secum in barathrum
locorum infernalium diuersorumque carcerum
refuza ueri luminis parasito præcipites 25

Gloss.—20. *Draco*.—i. diabolus. *Deterrimus*.—i. pessimus, vel terribilis, i. horribilissimus. 21.
Lubricus.—i. plemon [slippery]. *Sapientior*.—i. cuachlu [more subtle, cunning] bit [est] sapientia
in bono et in malo, in bono, ut dauid dicit Initium sapientie etc. [Ps. cx. 10]. in malo, ut christus Perdam
sapientiam sapientium huius mundi [1 Cor. i. 15]. 22. *Animantibus*.—i. animalibus. 23. *Tertiam par-*
tem.—i. de omnibus angelis vel de consentientibus. *Siderum*.—i. graduum celestium i. angelorum.
Barathrum.—i. in infernum .i. imbuile chpo [i.e. into the city of death]. 25. *Parasito*.—i. ont
puppreop .i. uob pein ap puppreop . . . [from a mountebank, i.e. of his own accord] he is a
mountebank]. *Præcipites*.—i. inna pimbungēchab .i. ꝥpein [i.e. the precipitous places, viz. hell].

9. *Principatum*.—Principatum, B. *Vir-*
tutum.—Virtutum, C. Virtutum, B.

11. *Largitatis*.—Largitatis, B.

12. *Privilegia*.—Privilegia, C. *Privi-*
legia, B. The Gloss assumes the reading
Privilegia, which is necessary to agree
with *Celestia*.

13. *Fatimine*.—Fatimini, B. This word
does not occur in the dictionaries, nor in
Du Cange. It seems to signify *expression*,
manifestation, from *fator*, *for*, to speak; or
fateor, to manifest. See Reeves, *Adam-*
nan, *Glossar. in voc.* Famen, p. 444.

14. *Celi*.—For *Transmigrationes* in the
Scholium, C. has *translationes*. The word
seems to be applied here to the fall of the
angels, who are called "the nine orders or
degrees of *Prince*," in reference, appar-
ently, to the passages of Scripture in
which Satan is called *Prince* (John, xii. 31,
xiv. 30, xvi. 11; Eph., ii. 2).

15. *Speciminis*.—Here used to denote
honour, glory, ornament, a sense in which
the word occurs in Seneca and Apuleius.

17. *Apostata*.—In the margin is this
note: "Apostata grece, recessor a fide
vilis interpretatur latine; vel lugubrium
lignum est super quod etiam aves stare
non possunt, ap clemni cucob uobpue
pop cech plemon [from its slipperiness;
the name was given from this to every-
thing slippery]." Does this note confound
lugubria and *lubricus*?

18. *Cenodoxie*.—Interpreted in the Gloss
inania gloria, κενή δόξη. Isidor. Hisp. uses
the word: "Multos autem ex eis [mo-
nachis] cenodoxie morbus commaculat."
De eccl. Officiis, lib. ii. 16, n. 18. See Du
Cange, *Glossar. in voc.* The second ety-
mology, κενή δόξη, is a mistake. The con-
struction is, "And the apostate angels"
[ruerunt, fell], "by the same lamentable
fall of the author of vain glory, of obstinate
hate, the others remaining in their prin-
cipalities." *Pervicacis*.—The Gloss is
from Isidor. Hispal., *Etymol.*, lib. x. 211.

20. *Deterrimus*.—Teterrimus, C. *An-*
tiquus.—Apoc. xii. 9, xx. 2.

De creatione elementorum mundi ꝛ hominum regentium ea potestate mox
in cælum. In terram inq. argamant. In principio fecit deus celum ꝛ
terram ac in genere dicitur.

Excelsum mundi machinam preuidens et armoniam
caelum et terram pecerat mare et aquas condidit
herbarum quoque germina ungulorum arbuscula
solem lunam ac sidera ignem ac necessaria
aves pisces et peccora bestias et animalia 30
hominem demum regere protoplastum praesagimine.

Gloss.—26. *Machinam*.—i. materiam, .i. massam. *Armoniam*.—i. in inchoatibus pileret p
dulo [i. the harmony that is between things created]. 27. *Caelum*.—i. invisibilis omnia creatura.
Terram.—i. omnis creatura visibilis terra vocatur. *Mare*.—i. a maritudine dictum, vel a meando. 28.
Herbarum.—i. christus. 30. *Bestias*.—i. quicquid ore et ungine [read ungine] sevit, bestia dicitur.
31. *Hominem*.—i. Adam, .i. omnia elementa terrana. *Protoplastum*.—i. protos, graece; primus, latine:
platus, .i. formatus, .i. in cerchpura [the first created] .i. corpus. *Praesagimine*.—i. o plogapheim
necht [i. host = leadership].

21. *Lubricus*.—In the margin there is the following note: "Lubricus a libro, quod est nomen cui oblenta scilipes adherere non possunt, finitatem omnis levis de quo quis labitur lubricus dicitur, bon chpunn peimbite eoin in a bapp, ꝛ via cace bo gnicep in cꝛpic [from that tree, on whose top there are usually birds, and from whose dung silk is made]. The remainder of this note is very obscure, and the Editor has not succeeded in reading it: it concludes with the words "in barathro, .i. in inferno." *Lubrum*, in the Glossary of Papias, is explained "rasile lignum." The object of the first part of this note is evidently to derive the word *Lubricus* from the name of a tree, so slippery that even flies cannot walk on its branches.—See the Gloss on this passage in the *Leabhar Breac*, Addit. Note B.

22. *Feracioribus*.—Ferocioribus, B.

25. *Refuga*.—Over the last syllable of

this word is written .i. x. [xel x], and a more recent hand has written x on the line below. *Refugax* is the reading of C. *Refugas*, B. *Parasito*.—The Gloss takes this word to signify a buffoon, or mountebank. Du Cange has shown that *parasitus* was used to signify a domestic servant, who lives at his master's table. But it is not easy to make sense from either of these significations in the passage before us. Perhaps we should read *paradio*. The gloss over *Præcipites* seems to understand *locos*. There is evidently corruption in the text.

26. *Excelsum*.—In the margin is this note: ". dicit. Oportuit ut terre celestis creatura prece . . ." Nothing more is legible. It was evidently a passage quoted from some ecclesiastical writer, perhaps Bede; but the editor has not been able to find it. *Armoniam*.—Ermoniam, C.

27. *Et terram*.—Terram, C.

Ire in titul. be laude dei ab angelis in quarta feria bicenter sanctur, sanctur, sanctur, hominur deur pabaoth. Ipi inb apugmanic. Quanto pecc celum ꝛ terram collaudauerunt me angeli, ut in sapientia salomonur dicitur.

Factis simul siberibus etheris luminaribus
collaudauerunt angeli factura praemirabili
immensae molis dominum opificem celestium
preconio laudabile debito et immobile
concentuque egregio grates egerunt domino
amore et arbitrio non naturae donario.

35

Gloss.—32. *Etheris*.—i. inb ethurp [the ether, or air]. 33. *Collaudauerunt*.—i. me, i. postquam creati sunt angeli dixerunt, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. 34. *Molis*.—i. non corporalis molis. *Opificem*.—i. gnumbenmari [a work doer], i. opus et faciens. 36. *Concentuque*.—i. on choceut epeppa [with magnificent singing together]. *Grates*.—i. pro gratias, causa ritui. 37. *Amore*.—i. pra. *Arbitrio*.—Arbitrium est proprium conatus animi. *Naturae*.—i. ni in gnumm pro chlanm motu be [not in their nature was implanted the praise of God], sed in voluntate et potestate sua, sicut intendit ante ubi dicit amore et arbitrio, ut dicant, up comepur facere malum mī ni bech gnum be oca [as they say that they would have been able to do evil if they had not had the love of God].

29. *Ac sidera*.—Ac sydera, C., B. *Et necessaria*.—Et om., B. Ac necessaria, C.

30. *Pecora*.—Pecora, C. *Et animalia*.—Et om., C.

31. *Præsgmine*.—On this word is the following note in the margin: "Præsgmine i. o pemthapchetul i. chipicti no o plozapchinnecht i. o apchin agminis hominum. Præsgmen enim a præsul et agmen componitur. Agmen Dei plozapchinnecht. co po bai to Uoam ut . . . dicit . . . creavit. Adam uero . . . non fuit." Here some words are illegible; but what remains may be thus rendered: "Præsgmine, i. e. prophecy," [from *præsgire*, or *præsgare*], "i. e. of Christ, or host=leadership, i. e. the beginning of the host of mankind" [Adam being, as it were, the leader or chieftain of the human race]. "Præsgmen is compounded of *præul* and *agmen*." The remaining words relating to Adam

are unintelligible, but may, perhaps, receive some light from the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breac*, where we read that God gave all things to Adam: "Adam vero nominibus ea nominavit." This, therefore, is the *præsgmen*, by which man bore rule over the inferior animals, whether we take that word to signify *prophecy* (exercised in Adam's naming all beasts), or to denote *superiority*, *power*, or *pre-eminence*, according to the second etymology given of it. See Addit. Note B.

32. *Factis*.—The Scholium prefixed to this stanza is thus translated:—"This is the Title, *De laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria, dicentes* [dicentibus, C.] *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudauerunt me angeli, ut in sapientia Salomonis dicitur*." We have here the ancient opinion that the

De peccato abae ⁊ de recunda punia diabuli in reductione abae in
cirul. Ipi int argumant, Malebctur epir peppen terpiam comeberip
omnibur diebur uitae, ut in generi dicitur.

Trassatis primis duobus subiectisque parentibus
 secundo nunc habebat cum suis satulibus
 quorum horrore vultuum sonoque volitantium
 consternarentur homines metu territi fragiles
 non valentes carnalibus haec intuenti visibus
 qui nunc ligantur pascibus ergasolorum neribus.

GLOSS.—38. *Grassatio*.—i. a diabolus. *Seductive*.—i. ab hora conditionis. *Parentibus*.—i. Adam et Eva. 39. *Secundo*.—i. primo de celo ad terram; secundo ad infernum. *Zebulus*.—i. diabolus. *Cum eva*.—i. cum malis suis factoribus. *Satilibus*.—Satilii a satis uiliis. 40. *Quorum*.—i. demoniorum. *Volitantes*.—Vel demonum, vel ferarum. 41. *Concrastare*.—i. non polypier [they would have hidden themselves]. *Fragilis*.—i. fragilis dicitur eo quod facile frangi potest. 42. *Hac interui*.—i. agmina diabolica uolitantia. 43. *Qui*.—i. satilii. *Ergastolus*.—i. na pignecap [on mu nuncupcap [i.e. the penal dungeons, or the wounding dungeons] ergastulum enim opus ex longum in tempus.

stars, created on the fourth day (Gen. i. 14-19), were the angels. This opinion is founded on Job, xxxviii. 7, which is probably the passage intended by our Scholiast, for nothing of the sort occurs in the Wisdom of Solomon. St. Gregory the Great, in his commentary on the passage, says: "Quia enim prima in tempore condita natura rationabilium spirituum creditur non immerito matutina astra angeli vocantur."—*Moral.*, lib. xxviii. c. 14. The Ante-Hieronymian version of Job, xxxviii. 7, as given by Sabatier, from the MS. Majoris Monast., is as follows:—"Quando facta sunt simul sidera, laudaverunt me voce magna omnes angeli mei" (which is a literal translation of the Septuagint). It will be observed that this older version, and not the present Vulgate, has been quoted by our Scholiast.

35. *Laudabile*.—Laudabili, C. *Immobile*.—Immobili, C.

38. *Grassatis*.—*Grassare* is to torment.

to assault. See p. 156, line 38, where we have, "*impiis verbis grassatur.*" "He [Christ] is assailed with impious words."

39. *Secundo*.—The Gloss explains that the first fall of the Devil was from heaven to earth (see lines 20, *sq.*); the second (after the fall of Adam) from earth to hell. The common opinion of divines is that the first fall of Satan took place before the creation of man, and immediately after his own creation: an inference which some deduce from the text, “Ab initio mendax fuit.” Jo. viii. 44. See Isidor. Hispal. *Sententiar.* i. x. 7. *Zabulus*, for diabolus, as the Gloss explains; from which we may infer that when this MS. was transcribed, the orthography *z* for *d* was becoming obscure. *Satilitibus*.—*Satellitibus*. C.

41. *Consternarentur*.—Consternerentur, C., an error probably of the press. The Gloss intimates that the consternation is increased by the demons being usually invisible.

De electione diabuli ex unicare angelorum in ritul. Iri inoppo imb
appaganic quob bicecup in generi Malebiete peppen. Et in eumgetio
bicecup labe peppo piceanar ꝥ non temprabit bonum deum eum ꝥ illi
poli pepuier.

Hic sublatus e medio deiectus est a domino
cuius aeris spatium constipatur satellitum
globo invisibilium turbido perduellium
ne malis exemplaribus imbuti ac sceleribus
nullis unquam tegentibus septis ac parietibus
pornicarentur homines palam omnium oculis

45

Gloss.—44. *Hic*.—i. diabolus. *Sublatus*.—i. a presentia dei, vel ex unitate fratrum. *Deiectus*.
1. poracēpob [i. is cast down]. 45. *Constipatur*.—i. uncup [is filled, crowded]. *Satellitum*.—i.
nanamur [i. the mercenary attendants]. 46. *Perduellium*.—i. inman beacachach [of the two battling
ones], i. inter se inuicem semper, no cuth [or battle] contra deum et homines, i. quasi duobus bellis
bellatorum quia duellis bellum hostes duellum, i. nancitō [enmity] perduellis inimicus. 47.
Malis.—i. demonum. *Exemplaribus*.—i. ona engaripō [by their examples]. *Imbuti*.—i. homines.
48. *Septis*.—i. sepes lignorum dicitur, paries autem lapideum. 49. *Pornicarentur*.—i. perdiretur, vel
peccarent, pro omni peccato fornicatio poulur.

43. *Ligantur*.—*Ligatur*, C. This read-
ing agrees better with the Gloss over *qui*,
which seems to take *qui* as singular; but
ligantur is evidently the true reading, and
is the reading also of B. *Fascibus*.—
Fascibus, C. *Ergastolorum*.—'Εργαστή-
ριον, a prison where the convicts are
compelled to labour. "Career, vel locus
ubi damnati marmora secant."—*Isidori*
Gloss. Or the fetters with which prison-
ers are secured.—*Du Cange*, in voc.

44. *Hic*.—There is a mark like this, :—,
over this word, and a similar mark under
the word "zabulus" in ver. 39, which
seem intended to show that *hic* refers to
zabulus. Hence the Gloss "i. diabolus"
is written under *Hic*, not over it, to avoid
interfering with the grammatical mark.
Deiectus.—*Diectus*, B.

45. *Cujus*.—Alluding, probably, to the
Apostle's saying, Eph. ii. 2, "Principes
potestatis aeris hujus;" the meaning will

then be, "the space of *his* air [i.e. the
Devil's air] is filled by a crowd of satel-
lites." Or perhaps the construction is
"eujus satellitum;"—"by the crowd of
whose [i.e. the devil's] satellites the air
is filled or choked up." *Satellitum*.—
Satellitum, C.

46. *Perduellium*.—The construction
seems to be "Globo turbido satellitum
invisibilium perduellium." The Gloss
derives *duellum* from *duo* and *bellum*;
but Isidore of Seville, on the contrary,
derives *bellum* from *duellum*: "postea"
(he says) "detracta et mutata litera"
[i.e. detracta litera *d*, et mutata *u* in *l*]
"dictum est bellum."—*Etymolog.*, lib.
xviii. c. 1, n. 9.

47. *Ne malis*.—This seems to be given
as the reason why the devils are invisible,
lest, if their wickedness were visible, men
should imitate them, in open shameless-
ness. *Imbuti*.—C. omits this word, pro-

De eo quod vehunt nubes aquar ab celum. Ip se in circul. 18pi imb-
argamant, ut dant dicit, Concentr nubes ab extremo terrae. 7 alibi
dicit, qui producit ventor de terraip pui.

INvehunt nubes pontias ex pontibus brumalias 50
tribus profundioribus occiani dodrantibus
maris celi climatibus ceruleis turbinibus
profuturas segitibus uinis et germinibus
agritae flaminibus tesaurs emergentibus
quique paludes marinas euacuant reciprocas. 55

Gloss.—50. *Invehunt*.—i. conocheat no imachupit [they raise or carry]. *Pontias*.—i. inna lipu [the seas]. *Brumalias*.—i. bruma, a brevi motu solis in eo, ip aipe . . . mam pech
apimub upce bruma edax, vel edacitas interpretatur. 52. *Climatibus*.—i. o apboib [from
high places]. *Turbinibus*.—i. o na conaib dubglarab no o na hachchab dubglar-
pab [from the dark-green waves, or from the dark-green fields]. 53. *Profuturas*.—i. inna hi
capminipit [those over which they will pass]. *Segitibus*.—i. bouis hominibus. *Vinis*.—i. iustis.
Germinibus.—i. vilibus hominibus. 54. *Flaminibus*.—i. ventis. *Emergentibus*.—i. exaltantibus.
55. *Quique*.—i. venti. *Paludes*.—i. profundiores fontes vel tesaurs, i. ad falles [? folles] uentorum qui
sunt in tesaurs. *Reciprocas*.—i. nahub [the causes?].

bably by an error of the press, for the omission would be a violation both of the metre and sense.

50. *Pontias*.—The Gloss explains this word as if it signified *seas*, from *pontus*; but it is not found in any of the printed Glossaries of mediæval Latinity. *Brumalias*.—*Brumalibus*, C. Under this word, and also under *pontias*, are two dots, showing the opinion of the Scholiast that they are to be construed together. The Gloss on this word is in some places illegible; it gives the usual etymologies of *Bruma*, viz. *quasi brevissima dies*; or from the Greek βρῦμα, "edacitas," because in winter animals eat most.—Isid. Hispal., *Etymol.* v. xxxv. 6. The Irish words in the Gloss, so far as they are legible, seem to indicate another derivation, probably that of *Hiems*, ap immub upce, "from abundance of water." Isid. Hispal., in his Glossary,

gives the word *Brumalia*, which he explains "resinosa pluvia," i. e. fetid rain. See also Du Cange, in v. *Bromosus*. The adjective *Brumalius* is of unusual occurrence, and was unknown to Du Cange.

51. *Occiani*.—*Oceani*, C. *Dodrantibus*.—In this line there are dots under *tribus*, *profundioribus*, and *dodrantibus*, showing that they are grammatically connected. *Dodrans* is explained by Du Cange, from Papias, "tres quælibet partes, quarta remota," which is the sense in which the word is used in classical Latin; but it is not easy to see how it can have that signification here: "the three deeper three-fourths of the ocean" is a strange expression. In the margin there is a note which is almost wholly illegible, and has been partly cut off by the plough of the modern binder; it appears to be intended chiefly to explain *dodrans*.

De intolerabile pena peccatorum in inferno in titul. In mōdga-
mane quod iob bicit Ecce gigantes gemunt sub aquis.

RABUCA AC TIRANNICA MUNDIQUE MOMENTANIA
REGUM PRESENTI GLORIA NUTU DEI DEPOSSITA
ECCE GIGANTES GEMERE SUB AQUIS MAGNO ULCERE
COMPROBANTUR INCENDIO ABURI AC SUPPLICIO
COCITIQUE CARUBBIBUS STRANGULATI TURGENTIBUS
SCILLIS OBTECTI FLUCTIBUS ELIUNTUR ET SCROPIBUS. 60

GLOSS.—56. *Momentania*.—i. in momentum temporis. 58. *Gigantes*.—i. potentes in inferno. *Sub aquis*.—i. sub unda penarum, i. poena intolerabili. 59. *Comprobantur*.—i. in scriptura. *Aduri*.—i. coloperep [to be burned]. 60. *Cocitique*.—i. lethi ipripn [instead of hell]. *Carubbibus*.—i. o na pæbchopab [tuna?] po marbab, ap mer. a anpab mæpæbchope mæmalaigep to pæbchopib cociti 7 ip ehaicab to pop ippepab [i. it is by the whirlpools they are killed: because of the greatness of the storm of the whirlpool, that are compared to the whirlpools of Cocitus; and it leads to hell]. *Strangulati*.—i. retenti. 61. *Fluctibus*.—i. o na conpab peillecab, i. o rhonnab in epæbchope bimb aum peilla, et in Sicilia est, 7 apmer bna a anpab beop [i. from the waves of Scilla, i. from the waves of the whirlpool whose name is Scilla, and is in Sicily, and in consequence of the greatness of its swelling likewise].

54. *Flaminibus*.—Over this word, and also over *emergentibus*, are two vertically placed dots (:), showing that these words were to be construed together. The existence of dots and marks, to show the grammatical connexion of the words, is a remarkable proof that in the age when the *Book of Hymns* was transcribed, the Latin text of such hymns as that now before us was beginning to be obscure.

56. *Tirannica*.—Tyrannica, C. *Momentania*.—Momentanea, C.

57. *Deposita*.—Deposita, C.

58. *Gigantes*.—Job, xxvi. 5.

59. *Aduri*.—Adusti, C. *Supplicio*.—Supplicio, C.

60. *Cocitique*.—Quotidieque, C. This is a manifest mistake of transcription. *Carubbibus*.—Charydibus, C., an error of the press for *Charydibus*. *Turgentibus*.—Gurgitibus, C. In the margin of the MS. there is the following note:—"Cocitus. i.

nomen quarti fluminis in inferno. [Quatuor] flumina infernus tenet, id est, Cocitus, abasque gaudio interpretatur. Strix" [*leg. Styx*] "[tris]titia interpretatur. Flegiton [Flegethon] flammeus interpretatur; et Achiron. Vel. iiii. nomina unius fluminis. Carubibus turgentibus.—i. o na capcib epuachvab, no gupvab no bpuchachaib no o na pæbchopib bopp-pavargit" [i. from the mountainous, or rough or boiling rocks, or from the swelling whirlpools]. "Strangulati.—i. retenti, i. tectai de peillip" [held by the rocks]. "i po pecl popatchmentap hic [this is the story that is commemorated here]. Scilla filia Porci" [Phoreys] "adamaata est a Glaeco Deo maris, quod displicuit Circe filie solis. Sciens autem Circe fontem ad quem Scilla quotidie veniebat venificia fecit. Postquam venit Scilla ad illum ut lavaret manus fontem, conuersa est statim in beluam marinam et noluit

In ricul. De mobetatione pluuiæ uementis ex ligatis aquis nubibus ne papiter pluunt. In imorro mo argamant, quod iob dicit, qui pur-pentibz aquar in nubibz, ne papiter pluunt deopsum.

Ligatas aquas nubibus frequenter crebrat dominus
ut ne erumpant protinus simul ruptis obicibus
quarum uberioribus uenis uelut uberibus
pedetentim natantibus telli pectractus istius
gellibz ac peruentibus diuersis in temporibus
usquam impluunt plumina nunquam deficientia.

Gloss.—62. *Crebrat*.—i. pichlamb [drops, filters]. 63. *Simul ruptis*.—i. Anarabuppi na pitecoipre, no anara papipeche na pitecoipre [the barriers are broken, or the barriers are made manifest] i. ruptis ligationibus quibus quodammodo nubibus aqua. 64. *Quarum*.—i. imbrum. *Uberioribus*.—i. pro uberibus hic causa rithmi. 65. *Pedetentim*.—i. paulatim, i. *Natantibus*.—i. aquis. *Telli*.—Tellus telli, secundæ declinationis, ut Augustinus dicit et masculini generis, et potest dici tellis et feminini generis, hic et hæc tellus telluris. *Pectractus*.—i. epi pichlapi. 66. *Gellibz*.—i. hiems et ver. *Feruentibus*.—i. æstas et autumnus. 67. *Usquam*.—i. ubique. *Impluunt*.—i. coipinnic [they well, i. e. burst up as from a well]. *Deficientia*.—eoque ex ea tolluntur.

ad homines uenire propter formam suam, prociocit se in mare. Uidens mater Carubdis filiam suam Scillam in mare nantem, exiit in mare ut teneret eam, sed non potuit, et frequenter [ven]tis affligebant, ut ferunt fabulæ, uidens Neptunus quod in mare . . . mittit tridentem in mare et statuit eas in scopulos et fixit Scillam in Sicilia et Carubdim in Italia cominus et uix nautæ nauigare possunt inter eas sine periculo."

62. *Crebrat*.—*Crebrare*, or *Cribrare*, is to sift; to drop through a chink or fissure. Hence it is explained in the Gloss, pichlamb, he drops, filters. The word is also written *cribare*, and *crecare*. French, *crever*. See Du Cange, v. *Crevere*.

63. *Obicibus*.—Obicibus, C.

65. *Pedetentim*.—*Pedetentim*, C. *Telli*.—Terræ, C. The Gloss proves that *telli* was the ancient reading; for it quotes Augustine to show that *tellus*, *telli*, of the

second declension, was masculine; *tellus*, *telluris*, of the third declension, feminine. The Editor has not found anything of this kind in the works of St. Augustine, nor in the spurious work *De Grammatica*, attributed to him, and printed in the Appendix to the Benedictine edition of his writings. It is true that Augustine has a remark on the male and female power of the earth, *De Ciuit. Dei*, vii. 23, which may perhaps be what our Scholiast alludes to; but he says nothing about a masculine *tellus*, having its genitive *telli*. Speaking of Varro, who made *Tellus* a goddess, and *Tellumon* a god. He says (*loc. cit.*): "Adhuc respondeatur, quam partem terræ perneet pars mundi animi, ut deum faciat Tellumonem. Non, inquit, sed una eademque terra habet geminam vim, et masculinam, quod semina producat; et femininam, quod recipiat atque enutrit: inde a vi feminina dictam esse *Tellurem*,

De punbamento cerpie ꝛ de abitoꝝ ipe in titulu. ꝛꝛ autem inb argumamtu
quobꝛ iobꝛ dicit qui pꝛpꝛendit cerpiam [ruper nihilum]. Et alibi dicit
Molir munti uirtute Dei conuincetur. ꝛ in ꝓꝓulmo qui punbaret cerpiam
ruper pꝛabilicet pꝛuati.

Magni dei uirtutibus appenditur dialibus
 globos terrae et circulos abissi magnae inditus
 suppleta dei totum omnipotentis ualida
 columnis uelut uectibus eundem sustentantibus
 promoncoris et rupibus solidis fundaminiibus
 uelut quibusdam basisibus firmatis immobilibus.

Gloss.—68. *Appenditur*.—*Appenditur* [kept up, sustained]. *Divinus*.—i. divinis. *Dius secundum veteres* no combat choop can [or that which ought to be in it] 69. *Circulus*.—i. an ibg mop in po in clannab ubgez circuit [the great abys, in which was implanted the law of a circle]. *Iduma*.—i. manu, iduma ebraice, cirus grece, manus, latine. *Falida*.—i. forte. 72. *Promontorium*.—i. o raib.

a masculina *Telamonem*." *Pertractus*.—*Per tractus*, C. *Istius*.—There is a gloss under this word which is now illegible; it may possibly belong to *temporibus*, the last word of the next line.

70. *Iduma*.—The Gloss tells us that this is a Hebrew word, signifying the hand, and identical with the Greek *ciros*, i.e. *χείρ*, and the Latin *manus*. It is evidently from מַן, a *hand*, and seems like a corruption of the dual מַיִם, as *ciros* seems taken from the genitive *χειρῶν*, or perhaps also from the plural *χείρες*. The remarkable word *Iduma* is not found in Du Cange, or in any of the Glossaries of mediæval Latin to which the Editor has access; and this passage seems to be the only instance of its use as a Latin word, in the sense of *power, might, authority*. It would have been wholly unintelligible but for the gloss.

71. *Eundem*.—Over this word there is

the following curious grammatical note: "ـَ vel : " the first of these marks (ـَ) occurs under the word "globus," and the second (:) under the word "circulus," in line 69: the meaning therefore is, that *eundem* signifies either "eundem globum" or "eundem circulum." In like manner the mark (ـَ) occurs under *iduma*, and also under *radida*, in line 70; showing that *radida* is to be construed as agreeing with *iduma*.

72. *Promontoriis*.—The Gloss upon this word is not legible, with the exception of the letters which have been above given; the meaning is, therefore, obscure. Perhaps the hiatus may be supplied by reading, o [na pop]rūt, the Irish translation of *promontoriis*. *Solidis*.—The text in the MS. has *solis*; but a coeval hand has written *solidis* in the margin, which is necessary both for the sense and the metre. The letters *Di* have therefore been added, within brackets, in the text.

De inferno in unip posito in conbe cepnæ ⁊ penit eor ⁊ loco. ipe in
 titul. Ipi inapazamane. Cpazeti animam meam et inferno [inferno].
 ut in euangelio dicitur Sepulcrum ipe bner in inferno. ⁊ alibi Ico male-
 breti in ueternum ignem. ⁊ alibi Uerimur eorum non moritur ⁊ ignis eor
 non extinguitur].

Nulli uidetur dubium in imis esse infernum
 ubi habentur tenebrae uermes ac dirae bestiae 75
 ubi ignis solphorius ardens flammis ebacibus
 ubi rugitus hominum pletus ac stridor dentium
 ubi gehennae gemitus terribilis et antiquus
 ubi arbor flammaticus sitis pamisque horribus

• • • • •

De laube dei ab angelis in titul. Ipi inoppe inb apzamanne, acbeap
 in Apocalypsi.—In eipcuru epomi ubi pebet .xxiii. penoper pebencep in
 uerpe alba ⁊ capicbur eorum copona aupa ubi.

Smnorum canticionibus seculo tinnientibus
 tropodis sanctis milibus angelorum uernantibus 130
 quatuorque plenissimis animalibus oculis
 cum uiginti pelicibus quatuor senioribus
 coronas admittentibus agni dei sub pedibus
 laudatur tribus uicibus trinitas eternalibus.

Gloss.—74. *In imis*.—i. in profundis terræ. *Infernum*.—Infernus dicitur quia infra sit. Sicut in medio animalis cor, ita inferus in medio terræ est. 75. *Tenebrae*.—i. tenebræ dictæ sunt quia tenent umbras. 129. *Tinnientibus*.—i. ambinnigece na cancuna [i. they harmonize the songs]. 130. *Vernantibus*.—i. immenemgecep uile [which they all used to practise (?) often]. 131. *Animalibus*.—i. euangelists. 132. *Viginti*.—i. cum .xii. patriarchis et xii. prophetis, vel cum .xii. prophetis et .xii. apostolis, vel figura .liii. euangelistarum cum .xxiii. libris veteris legis.

74. *Dubium*.—In the margin there is this note: "Dubium quasi diuivum, incertus duarum viarum." And so Isid. Hisp., "*Dubius*, incertus, quasi *duarum viarum*."—*Etymol.*, x. 77. *Infernum*.—The Gloss is from Isid. Hisp. *Etymol.*, l. xiv. c. 9: "Inferus appellatur eo quod infra sit," and, "Quomodo autem cor animalis in medio est, ita et inferus in medio terræ esse perhibetur." These words occur also in St. Jerome's *Comm. on Jon.*, i. 4.

76. *Solphorius*.—Sulphureus, C.

79. *Famisque*.—In the Irish orthography of *i* for *e*, *famisque* stands for *famesque*, "and hunger." C. reads *nitin fumusque*, a manifest mistake. A leaf of the Dublin copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* is lost after this line. It contained the stanzas O to X, inclusive, which will be found (taken from Colgan's copy of this Hymn) in the Additional Note D. It is greatly to be regretted that the MS. of the *Liber*

De uisione impiorum nolenter christum crebepe. ꝥ be gaudio iustorum in titul. Ir ꝥ inopio ino argamant quob dicitur in apocalippi Ir ignis conuemet abuerpior. ꝥ alibi dicit apocolup Mansiones multe sunt apud patrem, ꝥ christus dicit, In domu patris mei multe mansiones sunt.

Cetus ignis puribundus consumet aduersarios 135
 nolentes christum credere deo a patre uenisse
 nos uero euolabimus obuiam ei protinus
 et sic cum ipso erimus in diuersis ordinibus
 dignitatum pro meritis premiorum perpetuis
 permansuri in gloria a seculis in gloria. 140

Gloss.—135. *Consumet*.—i. vindicta a deo patre. *Aduersarios*.—i. veriti dei. 137. *Nos*.—i. genus humanum. *Evolabimus*.—i. in die iudicii. *Obuiam*.—i. ma. *Protinus*.—i. in lectu oculi. 138. *Cum ipso*.—i. erunt sancti cum Christo post mortem. *In diuersis*.—i. ut dicitur redd[ere] unicuique] secundum opus suum. 140. *Gloria*.—i. in regno. *A seculis*. i. presentibus. *In gloria*.—i. infinita.

Hymnorum now preserved at the College of St. Isidore at Rome is wholly inaccessible to the Editor, as it would have doubtless supplied defects of this kind, and probably cleared up many obscurities, especially as Colgan has printed the hymn with several inaccuracies, and with an entire disregard of the Irish peculiarities of spelling.

130. *Tropodis*.—Tripodiis, C. *Fernantibus*.—*Fernare* is sometimes used in the sense of *canere*, to sing. See Du Cange, *Glossar*, in v. Perhaps this may be its signification here. The Irish gloss is obscure.

133. *Admittentibus*.—For *mittentibus*, evidently for the sake of the metre.—Apoc., iv. 10.

134. *Tribus vicibus*.—Alluding to the triple *Sanctus*.—Apoc., iv. 8.

135. *Zelus*.—The Scholium is as follows:—"De uatione [vastatione, C.] *impiorum nolentes* [nolentium, C.] *Christum credere, et de gaudio iustorum*, is the Title.

But this is the Argument: quod dicitur in Apocalipsi, *lis ignis consumet aduersarios*, et alibi dicit apostolus, *Mansiones multas sunt apud Patrem, et Christus dicit, In domu Patris mei multe mansiones sunt.*" The passage here quoted from the Apocalypso really occurs Hebr. x. 27, the scribe having apparently mistaken *Apostolus* for *Apocalypsis*. A part of the first word is illegible; it is probably *terribilis*, from the first clause of the verse. Colgan gives it thus:—"Argum. ut in Apocal. *Tribus ignibus consumet aduersarios.*" But no such words occur in the Apoc. The first line of this stanza evidently contains an ancient reading: "*Zelus ignis consumet aduersarios,*" which seems more immediately taken from the Greek (πυρὸς ἔσθλος) than "ignis emulationis," which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, as well as of the Ante-Hieronymian version, as printed by Sabatier. The second passage quoted, *Mansiones multe sunt apud Patrem*, does not occur in any

Quir potest deo placere nouissimo in tempore
 Uariatur inrigibur ueritatur orationibus
 Exceptur contemptoribus mundi pperentur ictur.

Deum patrem ingenitum celi ac terræ dominum
 Qb eodemque filium pecula ante pprimogenitum
 Deumque pprimatum sanctum uerum unum altissimum
 Inuoco ut auxilium mihi oportunitissimum
 Minimo pperet omnium tibi deperuientium
 Quem angelorum milibus confociabit dominus.

of the Apostolical Epistles, and is probably only a repetition of the verse quoted immediately after from St. John, xiv. 3: "*In domo Patris mei multe mansiones sunt.*"

138. *Cum ipso.*—The allusion is to 1 Thess. iv. 17.

140. *A seculis in gloria.*—A seculis in secula, C., which reading seems more probable; the repetition of "in gloria" being a manifest blunder of transcription.

Quis potest.—The two following stanzas are in the smaller and more angular character, which has already been several times noticed. C. omits *Deo*. The Pre-

face tells us that this triplet is to be sung between each "Capitulum" of the Hymn. See p. 223.

Novissimo.—Over this word there is the gloss, ".i. in fine mundi," with some other words now illegible.

Primogenitum.—A gloss over this word is "vel progenitum;" but this, as well as the reading of the text, is inconsistent with the metre. C. reads *genitum*.

Angelorum.—There is a gloss over this word which is almost illegible. All that can be read with any certainty is as follows:—".i. is angeli in celo."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Preface to the Hymn.

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, which, as usual, is in a mixture of Latin and Irish:—

The Place^a of this Hymn was Hi^b. The Time^c was that of Aedán son of Gabran, King of Alba, and of Aed son of Ainmire, King of Erin. But Mauritius or Focas was then King of the Romans. The Person^d was Columcille of the noble race of the Scots. He is called Columba, from the text *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut Columba*. The Cause^e was because he was desirous of praising God. For seven years he was searching out this Hymn in the Black Cell^f without light, i. e. beseeching forgiveness for the battle of Cuil Dremne which he had gained^g over Diarmait son of Cerball^h, and the other battles that were gained on his account. Vel ut alii dicunt, it was composed extemporaneously; viz.—On a certain day Columcille was in Hi, and no one was with him except Boithin, and they had no food except a sieve full of oats. Then said Columcille to Boithin, “Illustrious guests are coming to us to-day,

^a *The Place*.—I. e. where it was composed.

^b *Hi*.—Now called Iona: a curious mistake, as Dr. Reeves has shown, for *Iona* (the adjective formed from Hi, or I, its ancient name), properly *Insula Iona*: Reeves' *Adamnan*, Add. Note D, p. 258.

^c *The Time*.—Our author fixes the date by the reigns of the king of Scotland, Aedán, son of Gabran (A. D. 574-606; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 473); the king of Ireland, Aed, son of Ainmire (A. D. 572-599; *ibid.* p. 431); and the Roman emperors, Maurice (A. D. 582-601) and Phocas (A. D. 602 *sq.*). On the chronology of these last the Scholiast speaks doubtfully: “Mauritius or Focas.” St. Columbkille died A. D. 597, before Phocas came to the throne.

^d *Person*.—I. e. the author of the Hymn. See the genealogy of St. Columba, Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 342 (Geneal. Table).

^e *Cause*.—I. e. the occasion on which he composed the Hymn.

^f *Black Cell*.—In Nigra Cellula, called in Irish *Duibh-regles*. This was a name of St. Columba's church in Derry in Ireland, Reeves, *ib.* p. 277, *Ord. Mem. of Templemore*, p. 241, and the Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breac has so interpreted it. See p. 223.

^g *Gained*.—Lit. “broken.” For an account of the battle of Cuil-Dreimne, see Reeves, *ib.* p. 247 *sq.*

^h *Diarmait son of Cerball*.—King of Ireland, A. D. 544-565. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 67, 68, notes.

O Boithin' (namely, the people of Gregory¹, who came with presents to him), and he said to Boithin, "Remain thou here ministering to the guests, whilst I go to the mill." He took upon him his burden from off a certain stone that was in the Recles², Blathnat³ was its name, and it exists still; and it is upon it that division is made in the refectory⁴. However his burden was heavy to him, so that he made this Hymn in alphabetical order, from that place until he arrived at the mill, i. e. *Adjutor laborantium*⁵, etc., and when he cast the first charge⁶ into the mill, it was then he began the first chapter; and it was at the same time that the grinding of the sack and the composition of the Hymn were finished. And it was extemporaneously it was made thus. In the year five hundred and sixty-five after the birth of Christ, Columbcille came to Hi, as Beda⁷ says: "In the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 565, at which time Justinus minor, after Justinian, received the government of the Roman Empire, there came to Britain, from Ireland, a presbyter and abbot, illustrious by the habit and life of a monk, by name Columbus, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts⁸". Now Brudi, son of Melcho, was then king of the Picts, and he it was that granted⁹ Hi to Columbus, where Columbus was buried, after he had been there seventy-six years, and thirty-three after he had gone to Britain to preach.

Now this Hymn was brought to Gregory to the East, in return for the gifts which were brought from him, viz., the Cross¹⁰, i. e. the Mórgeim¹¹ [great gem] was its name; and the Hymns of the Week¹². But they interchanged¹³ the Hymns. Three chapters were put into it, which Gregory made¹⁴, viz., *hic sublatius*, and

¹ Gregory.—Meaning Gregory I., who became Pope A. D. 590. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 319, 323.

² The Recles.—The abbey church of Hi: Reeves, *ib.* p. 276.

³ Blathnat.—The Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breacc (see p. 223) calls this stone *Mool-blatha*. Reeves, *ib.* p. 330.

⁴ Refectory.—*Ḍíonntig*, Dinner house: *Domus prandii*.

⁵ *Adjutor laborantium*.—This seems to imply that St. Columba on this occasion, whilst carrying his burden to the mill, composed a hymn beginning *Adjutor laborantium* (which does not appear to be now extant); and that the hymn *Altus prosator* was composed during the grinding of the corn. Or are we to understand that the *Altus* was called *Adjutor laborantium*?

⁶ Charge.—*Foca*. A living word to this day in Munster, to denote the feed or handful given from time to time to a hand-mill.

⁷ Beda.—*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 4.

⁸ Columbus.—By this form of the name he is frequently called in Scotland to this day. And it is the correct Latinization of the old Irish Colom̃b gen. Colom̃b (Lib. Ardmac̃h.), a masc. a-stem.

⁹ Picta.—Here the extract from Bede ends; but

the remainder of the passage quoted in the Preface, and which is in Latin, is abridged from Bede, although not in his exact words.

¹⁰ Granted.—"Immolavit." See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 435.

¹¹ The Cross.—See O'Donnell, *Vit. S. Columb.* lib. ii. c. 20 (Colg., *Triad. Thaum.* p. 412). It would seem that this was an altar cross, decorated with gems, &c. It seems to have been preserved in O'Donnell's time (1532) in Tory Island, but is now known to exist.—Reeves, *ibid.* p. 319.

¹² Mórgeim.—See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 318, 319.

¹³ Hymns of the Week.—i. e. a book containing hymns for every day of the week.—Reeves, *ibid.* Could this have been a copy of the celebrated *Antiphonary* of St. Gregory, still known by his name? See the Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breacc, p. 223, *infra*.

¹⁴ They interchanged.—i. e. the messengers who brought the Hymn to Pope Gregory substituted stanzas of Gregory's composition instead of the original stanzas of the Hymn. The Preface in the Leabhar Breacc, and that given by Colgan, represent this as having been done to test the miraculous powers of St. Gregory. The story, as given in the text, is not so intelligible, and there has probably

Orbem, and *Fagatur*. Now when they began reading the Hymn to Gregory, the Angels of God came, and they stood until that chapter was come to; Gregory also stood at that part until that time. But when that was passed, the angels sat down; then Gregory sat down, and so the Hymn was finished in that manner. Gregory then demanded from them^a their confession, for he knew that it was they who had interchanged [the hymns]. And they acknowledged that it was they, and they were forgiven for it. And they said^b that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures. And this criticism reached Columelle, and that was the cause of his composing [the Hymn] *In Te Christe*.

It is in alphabetical order, after the manner of the Hebrews. It is out of the Catholic Faith the foundation of this chapter^c was taken, i. e. belief in Unity, with confession of Trinity. And it was made in rhythm; and there are two varieties^d of that, viz. *Artificialis* and *vulgaris*. "Artificialis," where there are feet of equal time and equal division, with an equality in *arsis* and *thesis*^e, and so that the subsequent comes into the place of the preceding in the resolution. "Vulgaris," where there is a correspondence in syllables, and in every verse and half verse^f, and it is that which is here.

Now there are six lines in each chapter, and sixteen syllables in each line, except that in the first chapter there are seven lines, because in it is the Praise of God; for that odd number is suitable compared with the other chapters, because of the inequality of His creatures^g; but the number six is in the creatures, because they were made in six days. There ought to be a Title and an Argument before every chapter.

been some error of transcription. See O'Donnell, *loc. cit.* c. 21.

^a *Gregory made.*—The other account (see Colgan, *Tr. Thasm.* p. 473, and the Preface in the Leabhar Breac, p. 224) states that the messengers omitted three chapters of St. Columba's hymn, and substituted three of their own composition.

^b *Reading.*—Literally of *showing*; i. e. submitting the hymn to him for his approval; *compenent*, gen. sing. of *compenent*.

^c *In that manner.*—The meaning is explained by other versions of this Preface. So long as the messengers read the genuine composition of St. Columba, the Angels and the Pope remained *standing*, the posture of reverence; when the readers came to the spurious stanzas, the Angels sat down, and the Pope also sat. In Colgan's version of the story, the Angels are represented as being visible to Gregory during the recitation of the genuine parts of the hymn only, and the Pope stood in reverence to them. But when they vanished at the repetition of the spurious stanzas, the Pope sat down. The Angels of course were visible to Gregory alone. "In this manner" the hymn was finished; the Pope standing during the portions of it that were really

written by Columba, and sitting down when the substituted stanzas were recited.

^b *From them.*—i. e. from the messengers.

^c *They said.*—Colgan's version and the Preface in the Leabhar Breac represent this as having been said by Gregory, as his judgment upon the Hymn. But O'Donnell omits the circumstance altogether.

^d *Of the Hebrews.*—i. e. after the manner of the alphabetical Psalms of the Hebrew Bible.

^e *This chapter.*—i. e. of the first chapter of the Hymn.

^f *Two varieties.*—Cp. 1111, a division, or variety.

^g *Arsis and thesis.*—*Ἀρσις* and *Θησις*. "*Arsis* est vocis elevatio, id est, initium; *Thesis*, vocis positio, hoc est, finis."—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.* lib. iii. c. 20.

^h *Half verse.*—This seems to mean that there is assonance or rhyme in the middle of every line; as, *vetustus, ingenitus; origine, crepidine; secula, infinita*, &c. See the corresponding passage in the Preface in the Leabhar Breac, p. 225, *infra*.

ⁱ *Of His creatures.*—i. e. as compared with Him. The first stanza relating to God, and the remainder to His creatures, it was fit that the first should consist of a greater number of lines.

Now the proper manner of singing this Hymn is, that *Quis potest Deo*¹ be sung between every two chapters: and it is thus that its grace shall be [upon him that sings it], because it was so it was sung at first. Now there are many graces upon this Hymn, viz., Angels present whilst it is sung; the Devil shall not know the path of him who sings it every day; and neither shall his enemies perceive him in the day on which he sings it; and, moreover, there shall be no strife in the house in which it is frequently sung. It protects against every kind of death, except death on the pillow; and there shall be neither hunger nor nakedness in the place where it is frequently sung: et alie multe² sunt.

The Preface in the *Leabhar Breace*, fol. 109 a, differs in some particulars from the foregoing. It is as follows, with a literal translation:

Altur pproetop. Columcille fecit hunc
cmmum Trinitati per septem annos in
cellula nigra .i. ipm búspnecler imDoipe
Cholumcille. no ip cuibubunt cena bopón-
nab ut altí beane .i. Incan poboi Colum-
cille in hif a oenup aet boechín na fáppab
namd. IS anp epa popailpígob do Colum-
cille oegib do chibechi chuci .i. Moppep-
rupar be mumerp Dugoir caueator dúice-
pum ó Roum conapcubub leo do .i. in
Mórgemm Columcille. .i. epopp epfibe
mbfu, i immub na pechmane, i immub
eóó nóúeé ipmrechman i alia bona.
Roiappaz epa Columcille do boechin cib
do buib boi ipm choicéab. Aca, ol boe-
chin, epuachap copci unn. Fpuchailpu na
haigebu a boechin, ol Columcille, conde-
chabpa bon niulend. Iappm gebub epa
Columcille papm imboile don éloich píl ip-
in pponuiciz in hif, i ipe a haimm na clochí
rim, Moelblacha, i ronap pondeubop pop
eóó mbuib bobepap poppi. Ip iappm oc
bul do Columcille bon niulend ip anp bo-
pigne in imum becpo .i. Abincop laboran-
tium. i ip iapnub apgipech aca.

Incan epa bopac Columcille in cécpoba

Altus proetor. Columcille fecit hunc hymnum
Trinitati per septem annos in cellula nigra, i. in the
Black Reeces in Derry of Columcille, or as others
say, it was composed extemporaneously³; viz.,
at the time when Columcille was at Hy alone,
Boethin only excepted. And it was then revealed
to Columcille that guests were coming to him, viz.,
seven of the people of Gregory who came to him
from Rome with gifts for him, viz., the Mórgemm⁴
[great gem] of Columcille, that is, a cross, extant
this day; and the Hymn of the week, and a
hymn for every night of the week, and other gifts.
Then Columcille asked Boethin how much food
there was in the kitchen: "There is," said Boethin,
"a sieve of oats there." "Attend thou to the
strangers, O Boethin," said Columcille, "whilst I
go to the mill." After this Columcille took upon
him the sack from the stone that is in the refec-
tory in Hy, and the name of that stone is Moel-
blacha, and luck was left upon all food that is laid
upon it. It was after that, when Columcille was
going to the mill, that he composed this little hymn,
i.e. *Adjutor laborantium*⁵; and it is in alphabetical
order it is.

When Columcille had put the first feed into the

¹ *Quis potest Deo*.—This antiphon occurs at the end of the Hymn. See p. 219, *supra*.

² *On the pillow*.—i.e. it protects from all kinds of violent death, but not from ordinary or natural death. Cf. Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 37, 44.

³ *Alie multe*.—i.e. there are many other privileges, *alie multe gratia*, attached to the singing of

this Hymn.

⁴ *Extemporaneously*.—There are here two accounts: one, that this Hymn occupied its author seven years of study; the other, that it was composed extemporaneously. See above, p. 220.

⁵ *Mórgemm*.—See above, p. 221.

⁶ *Laborantium*.—See above, p. 221, note ⁵.

in bel in mulinb in ant bochuab hi cenb
inb Alcup, ⁊ in malle porcarg inemion bo
benum ocup inarabur bo bleich; ⁊ in epia
copab repucan bononab, reb per gpariam
Domini.

In tempore Aedán mic Gabhran rí⁹ Al-
ban, ⁊ Aeda mic Ainmíech rí⁹ Erenn, ⁊
Falcup tén ba pí Róman inatáin.

Causa, quia voluit deum laudare. i. bo
cúinéb vilgaba bona epí cathab dopome
inChunn. i. Cath Cúile Rathin in Dal Apsaib
etappu ⁊ Comgall [benchur] ⁊ copnam
chille. i. Rí⁹ copatáin, ⁊ cath belaz
peta appab Chluana hīpab⁹ ⁊ cath Cúile
opemie ⁊ conaétra, ⁊ ba bo Diarmait mac
Ceppaill bopara ándur. Ductur ep⁹ ab gpi-
gopuim, et pupaci pūnt minip⁹ epia capi-
tula be re, i. hic publicur ⁊ Orbem inepa,
⁊ Chpíto be coel⁹, ⁊ epia capitula pro eis
insepuepūnt, ⁊ minip⁹ cantantib⁹ gmi-
num gpi⁹opio, gpi⁹opior hic puppexir,
donec autip⁹ aliena capitula epia. Et
itepūm reb⁹ donec ppopia. Suppexir,
itepūm ⁊ bixir ill⁹ confitemini quob egir-
tur. Illi consepuepūnt, ⁊ bixir ill⁹ cantare
igir⁹ gmi⁹um pecundum opbinem a puo
aucrope bixitum, ⁊ illi canepuepūnt, ⁊ ille
po⁹t laubauit laub⁹. Seb bixir, min⁹
quam tebut⁹ De⁹p memorari in eo memo-
riat⁹ ep⁹. Pp⁹ent⁹ angeli pemp⁹ fue-
pūnt quādo cantat⁹, sic ut⁹ gpi⁹opior
angel⁹. Multe pūnt gparie gmi hui⁹.
Iup⁹ip⁹ eum cantat⁹ ppepūnt⁹
nunquam ab peprecutionem inimic⁹um ⁊

mouth of the mill, it was then that he began the
Altus; and it was at one and the same time that
the hymn was composed, and the grinding of the
corn completed; and it was not as the result of
study it was composed, *sed per gratiam Domini*.

[It was composed] in the time of Aedán son of
Gabhrran, King of Alba, and of Aed son of Ain-
mire, King of Erin, and Falcus [Phocas] was the
King of the Romans at that time.

The Cause was because he was desirous of prais-
ing God, i. e. to ask forgiveness for the three battles
which he had caused in Erin, viz., the battle of Cuil
Rathain [Coleraine] in Dal Araide, between him and
Comgall [of Bannchor] contending for a church, viz.,
Rose Tornathair; and the battle of Belach-feda, of
the weir of Clonard; and the battle of Cul Drenne
in Connacht; and it was against Diarmait Mac Cer-
baill he fought them both. Ductus est ad Grego-
rium, et furati sunt ministris tria capitula de se,
viz., *Hic sublat⁹, et Orbem infra, et Christo de
celis*. Et tria capitula pro eis inseruerunt, et minis-
tris cantantibus ymnus Grigorius, Grigorius hic
aurexit, donec audiret aliena capitula tria; et ite-
rum sedit donec propria. Surrexit iterum, et dixit
illis Confitemini quod egistis; illi confesserunt, et
dixit illis Cantate igitur ymnus secundum ordinem
a suo auctore dictum; et illi cantaverunt, et ille
post laudavit laudes. Sed dixit, Minus quam de-
buit Deus memorari in eo memoratus est. Presentes
Angeli semper fuerunt quando cantatur; sic vidit
Gregorius angelos. Multe sunt gratie huiusmodi huius.
Quisquis eum cantaverit frequenter nunquam ad
persecutionem inimicorum et demonum eveniet ei
quod timet pervenire; et nesciet diabolus mortem
ejus. Et liberet ab omni morte absque pretiosa, et

⁹ *Both*.—See Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 253-4.

⁹ *Ductus*.—I. e. Hymnus ductus est. See above, p. 221.

⁹ *Ministri*.—I. e. those who brought the Hymn to Gregory.

⁹ *Christo*.—In the Preface (Book of Hymns, see p. 221, *supra*), and also in Colgan's Preface, the third stanza, said to have been omitted by St. Columba's messengers, was *Vagatur ex climatico*.

⁹ *Minus*.—This is the same objection which is stated above (p. 221), and in Colgan's Preface (see p. 227, *infra*), that the author had not been sufficiently earnest in the praise of the Trinity.

⁹ *Pretiosa*.—Over this word is the gloss, *i. bap⁹e hūp⁹r*, "i. e. death on the pillow" (see above, p. 223). Is there an allusion here to the text, "Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus," the meaning of "*absque pretiosa*" being "ex-

pillab, .i. ceethpunchan, ⁊ lechpanb; ocuſ
 ipreb ſin pil ipin munun. Sex linag imorpo
 in unoquoque capitulo, excepto primo ca-
 pitulo; ocuſ re pillab .x. in cad line. ⁊
 .un. linag in primo capitulo. Cubab epa
 reſnapbachc do beich ipna capitelab hi
 paſ munun donbulib noſonbanchea epa
 reſnap. Cubab imorpo reſnapbachc
 do beich ipin chaſpcul ap in pdehpa. .i.
 quob nappat de beo, quob beup impan eſt
 creaturur ſur. uel .un. gnabur eccleriae
 ſignificat, uel quob reſpenſur unuer-
 ſitatem ſignificat. uel .un. bona ſpſur
 panet ſignificat.

Robe epa bligeb gabala int munſeo co
 nogabcha quip poceſt, etip cad bd chaſp-
 cul be. Ocup ip be ſin nobiab a pach ſur,
 ap ip amlab poceſt apur. ⁊rl.

this is what is in this Hymn. Now there are six
 lines in every *Capitulum*, except the first *Capitu-
 lum*, and sixteen syllables in every line; and seven
 lines in the first *capitulum*. It is fit that there
 should be six lines in which is narrated all that was
 finished in six days. And it is fit that there should
 be seven lines in that [first] chapter, for this reason,
 because it tells of God, for God is not comparable to
 His creatures; or it signifies the seven grades of the
 Church; or that the number seven denotes univer-
 sality; or it signifies the seven gifts of the Holy
 Ghost.

And the rule for singing this hymn is, that *Quis
 potest* be sung between every two chapters of it.
 And it is thus that one may have the benefit of it,
 for it was thus it was first sung, etc.

On the lower margin of the page of the *Leabhar Breac*, in which the foregoing
 Preface occurs, there is the following quatrain, in a hand coeval with the MS.:—

⁊erb in alcur cobarechr.
 Na bam cept do beman dup.
 Nipſil galan ipin bich.
 Na cich na curſpe ſop cul.,
 Sing the Altus seven times,
 Yield not thy right to the hard¹ demon.
 There is no disease in the world,
 No difficulty that it will not banish².

The following is Colgan's abridged translation of the Preface given in his MS.,
 which is supposed to be the same that is now preserved in the College of S. Isidore at
 Rome:—

Locus, in quo hic Hymnus compositus erat, est Insula Hiensis. Author S. Columba Kille de nobili genere
 Scotorum. Tempore Aidi filij Anmirij, Hibernie Regis, et Aidani filij Gaurani, Regis Albanie, seu Scotie
 Albiensis; fuit compositus. Causa motiva fuit, tum vt Deus in suis operibus laudetur, tum ad deprecan-
 dam veniam propter tria prelia inter Hibernie Principes conserta, quibus adiuuandis S. Columba causam
 prebuit. Erant hæc, prelium de *Cuithraethen*, prelium de *Cuiffedha*, et prelium de *Cuile-dreimne*. Ferunt
 nonnulli S. Columbam septem annis materiam hujus Hymni meditatum, antequam ipsum Opusculum com-
 poverit. Alii verò tradunt ipsum ex tempore illud composuisse tali occasione. Cum S. Columba et
 S. Baltheus die quadam in Insula Hiensi ab alijs sequestrati agerent; S. Columba ad Baltheum ait;

¹ *Hard*.—Obdurate, tyrannical, hard-hearted.

² *Banish*.—Literally, put behind.

Fili supervenient hodie nobiles et peregrini hospites à Gregorio Pontifice Summo cum gratis donarijs ad nos missi. *Æquum* ergò est tantis hospitibus de decore refectione provideatur. Et cum postea vir Sanctus intelligeret nihil domi reperiri, quo villo modo etiam minùs decenter, quàm par erat, possent refici, præter vnam frumenti mensuram; tunc ipse cucurrit festinus ad vicinum molendinum; et antequàm molendinum iniecta grana contriverat, vel in farinam resolverat, ipse Hymnum absorbit. Ordine Alphabetico Hymnus hic compositus est. Quælibet ejus strophæ (excepta prima, quæ septem constat) sex versiculis, seu lineis constat; et singulæ lineæ sedecim syllabis. Opusculum hoc iam absolutum, fuit ab autore per quosdam discipulos presentatum et oblatum Gregorio Magno Pontifici in recognitionem pretiosissimi donarii (nempe Sanctissimæ Crucis, quæ *Mor-gheum*, id est Magna, seu Pretiosa gemma, vocatur) quod idem Sanctissimus Pontifex ante S. Columbæ per suos legatos miserat. Pro tribus autem capitulis, seu strophis ejusdem Opusculi, à S. Columba compositis; qui incipiunt; *Hic sublatu8 è medio, &c. Orbem infra et legimus, &c. Vagatur ex alimatis, &c.* discipuli ejus legati sustinuerunt tres alios à se compositos, vel animo explandæ summæ tunc predicatæ S. Pontificis virtutem et sanctimoniam; vel reverè dispositione occulta Divini Numinis volentis utriusque Sancti eximiam virtutem reddere orbi notiozem. Cùm enim Hymnus ille coràm Gregorio recitaretur, Angeli Dei recitantes stipabant; quibus visis Pontifex Sanctus è sede assurgens, in pedes se erexit; et sic stans venerabundus persistit, donec ad supposititias strophas perventum esset: quibus legi cuncti Angeli recedebant, ac illis recedentibus Pontifex illicò in sede subsedit. Ac postquàm jam tertio alternatim vicibus Pontifex ad lectionem supposititiorum capitulorum resedisset, ac ad genuinorum resumptionem assurrexisset; tandem finitâ Hymni lectione Gregorius Hymnum depravatam esse in spiritu recognoscens, missos nuncios aditavit, quatenus fateantur, an ipsi vel alij aliqua in Hymno immutaverint. Illi religione perculsi, suam culpam, miraculo proditam, fatentur, veniamque supplices deprecantur, ac obediunt à Clementi Pontifice, qui et Opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod author parçis in eo de Trinitate disseruerit, quàm optaret. Et hæc fuit occasio, ob quam S. Columba composuerit aliam subsequentem Hymnum, qui incipit; *In te Christe credentium &c.* Plures piè creduntur gratiæ et virtutes huic Hymno divinitus concessæ. Prima, quod piè eum recitantes, nec à dæmone sint infestandi, nec ab hoste vulnerandi, eo die quo eum recitaverint. Secunda, quod à litibus et discordijs domus illa sit immanis in qua consueverit recitari. Tertia, quod locus in quo consueverit recitari, à fame et inopia sit præservandus. Quarta, quod quotidie eum recitans, non aliâ quàm naturali et placida morte sit interiturus, &c.—*Triad. Thæm.*, p. 473.

O'Donnell, in his Life of St. Columba, as published in a Latin abridgment by Colgan, has also given the Legend relating to the occasion of composing the Altus, in a form evidently taken from some copy of the Book of Hymns. As Colgan's work is very scarce, and as this narrative shows how O'Donnell understood some passages of the Prefaces, it may be well to insert his version of the story here:—

Sanctus Gregorius Papa cùm die qualiam Romæ in sua Ecclesia sacrosancto interesset Missæ sacrificio, vidit crucem ligneam Angelorum manibus super altare collocari: quam quidam ex adstantibus Clericis dàm inde levare aut aliò transferre niterentur, nequaquam loco dimovere potuerunt. Cunctis eam ob rem admiratione attonitis, summus ipse Pontifex accessit, crucemque continuò levans; Hæc, inquit, palàm ad adstantes, nec mihi, nec culpam vestram; sed culdam Dei servo, cui nomen Columba, extremam orbem incolenti, à Deo est destinata! Quare accersitos quosdam Clericos jubet ut se itineri accingant, et demissum cellitis donum præmemorato Christo famulo in Hy Insulam perferant. Ijs profectis, et jam Hiensi cœnobio vicinis S. Columba de eorum adventu et suscepti itineris causa ab Angelo admonitus; hac nocte, inquit ad suos, venerabiles ad nos hospites Gregorij Papæ nuntij divertent: curate igitur ut ijs bene sit de cœna provisum.

Paulò post cùm illi advenissent, nihilque in Monasterio repertum, quod tantis hospitibus dignum erat ap-
poni, præter unum subcineritum panem, et poculum unum vini in usum sacrificij reservatum; vir Sanctus
eam ob rem verecundatus, illa ipsa adferri iussa in Christi nomine benedixit, et iam hospitibus apposta,
Christo annuente sic multiplicavit, ut hospitibus totique familiis reficiendis abundè sufficerent. Porro
nuntii Pontificis commissum donum viro Sancto consignarunt; etque illud celebre monumentum quod in
Torachia occidentalis Hiberniæ insula (cujus supra mentio sæpius facta est) in memoriam Columbæ asseratum
Crux magna vulgò appellatur.

Post hæc S. Columba tres è suis discipulis Romam ablegavit, qui rythmum quem in Sanctissime
Trinitatis laudem ipse composuerat paucis verbis multa obstrusiora sacre scripturæ mysteria complexus,
Sancto Gregorio Magno præsentarent. Nuntii ergò Romam perlati priusquam creditam opellam Pontifici
porrexerant, tria ex eius medio capitula, substitutis totidem, quæ ipsi fuerant comment, temerè expunxe-
runt, experimentum scilicet ex re facturi an Gregorius cujus tàm fama sanctitatis increbuerat, supposititia
metra à reliquis discerneret; vel an pari laudi utraque commendaret. Rythmum itaque sic interpolatum
cum Sancto Antistiti præsentassent, et coràm eo, eique assistente purpuratorum corona iussu legere cupis-
sent, Magnus Pontifex se in pedes erexit, sique venerabundus persultit, donec ad apochripa illa capitula
perveniret erat: quibus legi ceptis, continuò resedit; sed iam perfectis iterato surgens, reliqua stans ex-
cepit. Ad hæc admirati quidam præsentium optimatum, cùm inusæte et aliquantisper interruptæ venera-
tionis causam sciscitarentur; respondit Pontifex se idèò, dùm Rythmi initium perlegeretur, stetit, quod
intèrè Angelos Sanctos stipasse legentium latera conspexisset; postèà verò subessisse, quòd boni Genii
aliquantisper disparuissent; illicque iterum se venerabundum surrexisse, et in eo situ in finem perseverasse.
Ad hæc audita nuntii simul admiratione attoniti, simul etiam religione percussi, suam imposturam, certam
scilicet interruptæ Angelorum præsentis causam humiliter fassi, temeritatis veniam obtinuerunt à Clementi
Pontifice; qui et oblatum rythmum magnopere laudavit, et authorem Apostolicæ sedis indultis auctum,
suo nomine salutari mandavit. — *Triad. Thesm.*, p. 212.

NOTE B.

The Gloss in the Leabhar Breacæ.

As the various readings of the text, or rather fragment of the text, of this Hymn,
preserved in the *Leabhar Breacæ*, have been already fully given in the notes, it will
only be necessary to publish here the interlinear Gloss which occurs in that MS. It
is quite different from the Gloss in the *Liber Hymnorum*, although in some places they
coincide, as if taken from some common source. It is necessary to state that this
fragment contains only the stanzas or "Capitula" A to H, inclusive. The numbers
refer to the lines of the Hymn.

1. *Altus*. bu bna alcup 7 alcup hic plumb huaple, et iteo ponitup hic, ap plumbis
huaple acup iple do ut cicepo dicet alcup mape et alcup celum. Alcup imoppo

* *Leabhar Breacæ*.—"Speckled Book," in Old
Irish leabap bpeacc. The adjective *Breacæ* has ge-
nerally hitherto been spelt *Breac*, incorrectly, how-
ever; the ancient orthography was *breec*, as is

shown by the corresponding word in Welsh, viz.,
brych, where the *ch* has certainly arisen from the
combination *cc*, as in *iechuit* (sanitas), Old Irish
fec; *bichan* (parvus), O. Ir. *becc*; *pechawt*

huiciple canum copneip. ["Now altus and almus both denote nobility: and therefore it (viz. *altus*) is put here, for it denotes high and low, as Cicero says, *Altum mare, et altum cœlum*. *Almus* signifies nobleness only."]

Proseator.—In the margin is this note, "Seminator, vitis; sator, agri; sator, horti; sator, sevi, satum [leg. satum]; uminor, idem; sator; prosero, vi, prositatum; incop conbent [the *tor* makes] proseator."

Vetustas.^a. i. qui sperit [qu. fuerat] ante tempore.

Dierum. dies i. a dividendo lucem a tenebris.

2. *Abque origine*. i. Deus Pater origine erat prius in tempore.

Primordi. i. quando in forma venit, vel materia uniuscuiusque rei in massa [leg. massa].

Crepidine.^c. i. cen pocpento [without end], ap rogabap crepido luc in corp cpih no cenporhu [for crepido is sometimes found to signify end or termination], ut in lege dicitur [acerdos decurrere faciet] sanguinem ad crepidinem altaris, id est, ad fundamentum [Lev. i. 15].

3. *Est et erit*.^d. i. non proprie dicitur de deo erat, vel erit, sed tantum est, quia presens est; sed elimenta erant ante, quia ut augustinus ait erant in notitia dei et non erant sua natura.

4. *Cui est*.^e. i. nemo potest esse est.

Christus. i. misias in ebreo, christus in greco, unctus in latino

5. *Coeternus*.^f. i. nt dicitur genuit verbum omni modo simile sibi qua locutio patris est filius ut dicit dauid semel locutus est [Ps. lxi. 12] id est filium unum genuit.

6. *Non tris*. i. si dicamus tris personas unum esse deum constitemur, si unum deum constitemur tris personas credimus, i. ut dicit hironimus^g si unus sol est in integra cum luce et calore, ita est sol deus pater, lux est filius, calor est spiritus sanctus.

8. *Oravit*. Deus i. altus proseator.

Angelus. i. angelus grece. maloch, ebreice. nuntius, latine.

9. *Sedium*. i. tronum [read thronorum].

10. *Uti*. i. prout.

Bonitas. i. Dei benevolentia. *Otiosa*. i. beacih no bfmidin. i. cen maine beipniub [lazy or idle, i. e. not to bestow wealth].

11. *Trinitatis*. i. trinitas quasi trina unitas.

(peccat-um), O. Ir. peccad; *mynych* (frequens), O. Ir. menicc; and the other examples given by Zeuss, *Gramm. Celtica*, i. 173.

^b *Altus*.—This is an attempt to explain why *altus*, not *almus*, is used in the Hymn: *altus* having a more extensive signification.

^c *Proseator*.—This note is intended to give the etymology of *Proseator*. It explains that we use *seminator*, of a vine; *sator*, of land; and *sator*, of a garden. *Uminor* ought probably to be *seminor*. There is evidently some corruption; but the meaning seems to be that, as from *sevo*, *sevi*, *satum*, comes *sator*, so also from *prosero*, *proseri*, *prosatum*, we have the noun in *tor*, "*proseator*."

^d *Vetustas*.—The word *sperit* in this Gloss seems a mistake. Perhaps we should read *fuit*, or *fuerat*.

^e *Crepidine*.—See the note on this word, p. 206, *supra*.

^f *Est et erit*.—The Editor has been unable to find the words here quoted from St. Augustine.

^g *Cui est*.—The reference is probably to Exod. iii. 14. "Nemo potest esse est."

^h *Coeternus*.—The interpretation here given to the words, "semel locutus est," will be found in St. Augustine; *Enarr.* in Ps. lxi. 12, "Apud se semel Deus locutus est, quia unum Verbum genuit Deus."

ⁱ *Hironimus*.—The Editor has not found this passage in St. Jerome's works.

Largiatatā. .i. ʔrɪr ʔrlabʔr ʔobʔi bɪa ʔrɪa ʔbʔlɪ [because God was munificent to his creatures].

12. *Haberet.* Ut.

Celestia. .i. misterio, vel elementa.

Privilegia. [sic] .i. ʔɪmʔab nʔ bʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ ʔnɪɪ ʔʔh nʔ bʔlɪ ʔnʔhena [the great dignity or illustriousness of angels above all the other creatures].

13. *Magnopere.* .i. ɪmʔʔʔʔneʔhie [leg. ɪmʔʔʔʔneʔhɪb, which is an exact translation of *magnopere*].

Fatimini. .i. ʔnʔl ʔr ʔʔʔʔʔ [from the word *feteor* (i. e. *futeor* or *fator*)].

14. *Celi.* .i. Celum a celsitudine sua nomen rectissime accepit.

Apice. Apicem dicit. .i. culmen regni aut summitatem.

15. *Venustate.* i. quasi honorabilitate. *Speciminis,* i. nʔ bʔlɪ, nʔ ɪn ɟnʔʔ [of the countenance, or outward appearance].

Lucifer. i. lucem ferens.

Formaserat. i. dens.

16. *Apostataque.* .i. nʔnʔʔʔʔʔmneʔh [the fallen ones] apostata grece: recessor a fide vel viles [read viles] interpretatur.

Lugubri. .i. lugubri. i. flebili. i. ɪmʔʔʔʔbʔa bʔbʔrɪm uʔbʔʔrɪ ʔ bʔnʔ bʔlɪb ʔnʔhena uʔʔr ʔʔmʔll ʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ ʔnɪɪʔʔʔm uʔʔ [i. in great melancholy to themselves, and to other creatures also, because the transgression of the angels deceived them].

18. *Cenodorian.* .i. ceno, uanae, doxia grece gloria interpretatur. .i. ɪn bʔʔʔʔʔ ʔrɪʔ [of the perpetual oblivion], a diabulo contra hominem.

19. *Ceteris.* .i. angelī perfecti.

In suis principatibus. .i. in proposito suo perseverant in celo.

20. *Draco.* .i. diabolus, duplex consiliator interpretatur; dia, Grece, duo, latine; bulas, Grece, consiliator, latine.

21. *Serpens.* .i. ɪn ʔrɪʔʔh ʔʔʔʔʔm [the tempting of Adam].

22. *Lubricus.* .i. lubricus, eoque ibi labitur, lubrum .i. ʔʔʔʔb ɪn ʔʔʔʔʔ ʔʔʔ nʔ lʔnʔm ʔʔʔʔ ʔʔr ʔr ʔʔʔ ʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ bʔʔʔʔʔ ɪn ʔrɪʔ [i. e. a tree in the East on which flies stick because of its lubricity, *sed cadent*, and from it the name is given to everything slippery; and it is from the dung of birds that live in its top that the silk was manufactured].

Sapientior. .i. sapientia fit in bono et in malo, in bono ut dicitur, initium sapientie timor domini, ut dicit christus, perdam sapientiam sapientium bulus mundi, vel sapientia bʔʔʔʔ [folly], ut dicit sapientia huius mundi.

22. *Bestia.* .i. bestia ab esu [from eating] more feriatatā [sic] dicta est.

Terrae. .i. terra dicta est a torrente, eoque commouentium grossibus atteritur.

Ferocioribus. .i. ferox eoque feriatatem exercent.

23. *Tertiam partem.* .i. gradum celestium.

Siderum. .i. angelorum.

Trazit. .i. draco.

Barathrum. .i. ɪn ʔʔʔʔm .i. quasi voratrum .i. uʔʔʔʔ ut circirius [?] dicit, Baratrum .i. hiatus terre .i. puteus in profundo maris et terre. Baratrum .i. loc ɪlɪʔʔʔ ʔʔʔʔ ʔr nʔ ʔʔllɪʔʔʔʔ ʔʔr ʔʔ bʔʔ. ʔ bʔbʔʔʔ uʔʔ ʔʔ ʔʔh ɟʔʔʔm ʔnʔhena [i. e. a place into which old people are cast, they are not let out of it till death, and the name is given from it to every kind of incarceration besides].

37. *Amore*. .i. pro.
Arbitrio. .i. arbitrium est proprium [sic] conatus anime.
Nativitas. .i. [nt] innancienuib pochlannab molab dé [(not) in their nature was the praise of God planted], sed in voluntate et postetate [potestate] sua, sicut ostendit ante, ubi dixit, amore et arbitrio, quod dicit augustinus natura quæ nec recipit minus nec plus quam quod ab origine trahit, non invitus ergo laudante dominum sed ex voluntate.
38. *Grasatis*. .i. a diabulo.
Primis duobus. i. adam et eua.
39. *Zabulus*. .i. pocul ḡreeba [a Greek word], de consiliariis interpretatur, vel infirmus iap genneach no comab bon pocul ap diabulap boḡnechea ḡabulap epia. ḡ. a .b. epia chepcaib, or zabulus, was made from the word *diabulus*, through z from d [i. e. by changing d to z], through contraction [lit. cutting-down].
40. *Quorum*. .i. demoniorum.
41. *Consternarentur*. .i. na falgicir [what they concealed] quia invisibiles sunt demones.
Fragiles. .i. fragilis dicit eo quod facile frangi potest.
42. *Non valentes*. .i. na fállirḡicir [i. e. what they revealed].
Hec intueri. .i. agnina diabultica, vel carectera et voltantia.
43. *Fascibus*. Fascibus .i. mnaḡpinnib .i. ma comnib amail ḡinne .i. caó comonb bñb máluc fangnupca amail ḡinne [i. e. in the bundles, i. e. in their *comonds* [assemblies?] like bundles, i. e. each *comond* of them in its proper place like a bundle.
44. *Sublatus*. .i. diabolus, .i. a conspectu dei vel ex unitate.
45. *Cujus*. .i. diabuli.
Constipatur. .i. blutair no líncap [i. e. is closed, or is filled].
Satilitum. .i. nunañup [i. e. of the soldiers].
46. *Globo*. .i. o chuairp no o buñin [i. e. by a circle, or by a crowd].
Perduellum. .i. mnanbechach, inter seipsos invicem semper, no ceth contra deum et homines. Duellum .i. quasi duobus bellis bellatorum .i. qui bellis bellum interpretatur vel hostis ut cñc dixit. Aliter perduellum. .i. namcñc, quia fit perduellis inimicus.
47. *Exemplaribus*. .i. o éḡnaplubb demonum [i. e. from the examples (?) of demons].
Imbuti. .i. fopetchi.
48. *Septis*. .i. septus a quo septis est, semper labidum [read lapidum] est. Septus autem lignorum. .i. custodias angelicas et uirtutes christi significat.
49. *Fornicarentur*. .i. perdirentur, pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur hic, .i. quia non delarent [sic] homines peccata sua si uide[rentur].

On the lower margin of this page (109 b) occurs the following quatrain:—

Fuil epini, fuil epini
 noblegair doboche de bi:
 bimmba dabechab cipe,
 cepacht ocup díbele.

There are three things, there are three things
 That are unlawful to the poor of the living God:
 Thanklessness for their life, whatsoever it be,
 Dissatisfaction and *aíbele* (precipitancy?)

NOTE C.

Translation of the Hymn, and of the Scholia prefixed to its several Stanzas.

IN the following attempt to translate this Hymn, the Editor is not at all sure that he has always succeeded in expressing the author's meaning¹. The Latinity is extremely rude, and the readings in some places corrupt; nevertheless, the translation, and notes appended to it, may possibly be an assistance to some readers:—

CAPITULUM A.

The Title^a is, *De unitate et Trinitate trium personarum*, and the Argument is the Canon [i. e. the text of Scripture] upon which the Capitulum is founded, as is read in Daniel [vii. 9] or in Isaias [vi. 1?], *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*. Vetustus dierum æternus temporum erat. Vetustus dierum Deus dictus, pro multitudine dierum ante quos Deus erat; vel quia fuit [per] omnia tempora. It is the canon of a prophet he gives in it, quia ipse propheta erat; and it is from Daniel in particular he takes it, because he was the latest and noblest; but Columelle was the latest and noblest of the prophets of Erin.

The High Father, the Ancient of Days, and unbegotten,
Was without origin of beginning, and foundation;
Is and shall be to infinite ages of ages;
With whom is Christ the Only-begotten, and the Holy Ghost
Coeternal in the glory of the everlasting Godhead:
We preach^m not three Gods, but we say there is one God,
Saving our faith in three most glorious Persons.

CAPITULUM B.

This is the Title^b, *De formatione novem graduum*, tribus prætermisiss, non per ignorantiam, sed pro angustia capituli prætermisiss. But the Argument is, *Fiat lux et factus est*:—

He created the good Angels, Archangels, and the Orders
Of Principalities^c, and Thrones, Powers and Virtues

¹ *Meaning*.—Dr. John Smith, Minister of Campbellton, in his *Life of St. Columba* (Edinb. 1798), has given in his Appendix (p. 137) a very loose poetical paraphrase of this Hymn, which, however, throws no light on its philological difficulties, and can scarcely be called a translation.

^a *The Title*.—Colgan has abridged the Scholium thus: "Titulus est: De Unitate et Trinitate personarum. Argumentum verò ex illo Danielis vel Isaiæ: *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*." See note, p. 206, *supra*. The *Leubhar Breace* has, "De unitate et Trinitate Dietatis [sic] trium perso-

narum ut he in circulo [this is the Title]. Ipse imopno in apzomante [this, however, is the Argument], ut dicitur in Danello [sic], *Ecce videbam sedes posita et vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*."

^b *Foundation*.—*Crepido* may signify 'foundation'; and therefore *abque crepide*, 'without anything to stand on,' 'self-dependent.' See note, p. 206. But perhaps it may also signify 'breach,' 'interval,' 'fissure.' See Du Cange, in *voc.*, and compare the use of the word *crebrare*, line 62 (p. 215, *supra*, and note).

That the Goodness and Majesty of the Trinity might not be inactive^p 10
 In all functions of bountifulness,
 But might have something whereby to show forth
 Celestial privileges largely in all possible expression.

CAPITULUM C.

De transmigratione novem graduum principia, this is the Title. But it is from the Apocalypse the Argument is taken, i. e. *Vidi Stellam de celo cecidisse in terram*: et in *Essia*, *Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris*.

From the summit of the kingdom of heaven, of angelic rank,
 From the brightness of effulgence, from the loveliness of beauty, 15
 Lucifer, whom God had made, fell by being proud,
 And the apostate angels, with the same mournful fall
 Of the author of vain-glory, and of obstinate envy;
 The rest remaining in their Principalities.

^m *We preach*.—"Depromimus," we put forward,
 'we propound,' or 'teach.'

ⁿ *This is the Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tit. De formatione novem graduum Angelorum, tribus prætermisiss: non per ignorantiam, sed per augustiam capituli prætermisiss. Argumentum ex illo, *Fiat lux et facta est*." The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breac* is as follows: "De formatione .ix. graduum, tribus prætermisiss, ipe in circulo [this is the Title]. Ipi in omni in argumentum [this, however, is the Argument], Quod in Genesi dicitur, *Fiat lux et facta est lux*."

^o *Principalities*.—The reading of C., "Archangelos et ordines," has been adopted in the translation. See p. 207, note. See Col. I. 16: "Sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates."
 —*Vulg.* Our author uses *sedes for throni*, for the sake of his metre. See note, p. 207, *supra*.

^p *Inactive*.—"Uti non esset bonitas otiosa." These words occur in the Treatise, *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, which is attributed to Gennadius of Marseilles (Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.* xv. 475), and which has also been published in the works of St. Augustine (*Ed. Bened.* viii. App. p. 75), and of Isidore of Seville (*Ed. Romæ*, 1803, tom. vii. App. No. 13). The words of this Treatise, which our author evidently borrowed, are as follows:—"In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram, et aquam

ex nihilo. Et quum adhuc tenebræ ipsam aquam occultarent, et aqua terram absconderet, facti sunt angeli, et omnes cælestes virtutes, ut non *esset otiosa Dei bonitas*, sed haberet, in quibus ante spatia bonitatem suam ostenderet," &c.—c. 10. On the author and antiquity of the book, *De Eccl. Dogmatibus*, see the *Isidoriana*, tom. ii. of the Works of S. Isidore (*supra*, cit.), p. 31, cap. 83, n. 10, *sq.*

^q *Privileges*.—The reading *Privilegia* is here adopted, for the reason assigned in the note on line 12, p. 208. It has been found impossible to make the lines of the translation coincide with those of the original, and there seemed no object in attempting to be so rigidly literal.

^r *De transmigratione*.—Colgan reads: "Tit. De transmigratione novem graduum principis. Argumentum ex illo Apocalipsis, *Vidi stellam de celo cecidisse*. Et ex *Essia*. *Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris*." The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breac* is, "De transmigratione .ix. graduum angelorum, vel de peccato Adæ, ipe in circulo [this is the Title]. Ipi in omni in argumentum [this, however, is the Argument], quod dicitur in Apocalipsi, *Vidi Stellam cecidisse in terram*. Et in *Essia* dicitur, *Quomodo Lucifer cecidisti mane oriebaris*." The passages of Scripture quoted are Apoc. ix. 1, and Ia. xiv. 12. See the notes on this Capitulum, p. 208.

CAPITULUM D.

De ruina^a Diaboli, is the Title: i.e. De mutatione nominis Luciferi in Draconem. And this is the Argument, ut est in Apocalypsi, *Eecce Draco rufus habens capita septem, et cornua decem, et cauda ejus trahit secum tertiam partem siderum vel stellarum* [Apoc. xii. 3].

The Dragon, great, most foul, terrible and old, 20
Who was the slippery serpent, more wise
Than all the beasts and fiercer^b animals of the earth,
Drew with him the third part of the stars,
Into the pit of infernal places, and of diverse prisons,
Deserters^c of the true Light, cast headlong^d by the parasite. 25

CAPITULUM E.

De creatione elementorum mundi et hominis repenti ea postea more, is the Title^e. And this is the Argument: *In principio fecit Deus celum et terram*, ut in Genesi dicitur [Gen. I. 1].

The Most High^f in His foresight had made the structure and harmony of the world, 20
The Heavens and the Earth, founded the sea and waters,
The buds also of grasses, the twigs of shrubs,
The sun, moon, and stars, the fire and necessary things,
Birds, fishes, and cattle, beasts, and animals. 30
Lastly, the first-created^g man, to rule with pre-eminence.

^a *De ruina*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tit. *De ruina Diaboli*. Argumen. vt est in Apocalypsi, *Eecce Draco magnus, rufus, habens capita septem et cornua decem: et cauda ejus trahit tertiam partem syderum seu stellarum*." The Scholium in B. is, "De ruina diaboli vel de mutatione [sic] nominis Luciferi in Draconem, Eec [sic] Draco rufus habens .vii. capita et .x. cornua, et cauda ejus trahit tertiam partem."

^b *Fiercer*.—B. and C. read *ferocioribus*, which is followed in the translation.

^c *Deserters*.—The reading of B. is here adopted, *refugas*, the acc. pl. of *refuga*, in apposition with *tertiã partem* (line 23):—"He drew with him the third part, &c., who were deserters, &c."

^d *Cast headlong*.—The Editor is by no means sure that he has translated this passage rightly: he has left the word *parasite* untranslated, because he knows not how to render it consistently with the Gloss (see p. 209, *supra*, note on l. 25). He is very much dis-

sposed to adopt the conjectural reading *paradiso*, and to translate, "cast down from paradise." Or perhaps the meaning may be, "cast down from being (in a good sense) a parasite," i.e. a servant entitled to sit at his master's table.

^e *The Title*.—C. omits *mundi*. For "postea more," C. reads "postea more regis;" and B., "ea more regis," omitting "postea." The insertion of *regis* is necessary to the sense. In C. and B. the words, "ut in Genesi dicitur," are before, not after, the quotation.

^f *Most High*.—The Latin is *Eccelsus*, but the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breac* is, ".i. Deus .i. quasi valde excelsus." The construction evidently is, "Excelsus [Deus] prœvidens fecerat"—the Most High in His Providence, &c.

^g *First created*.—So *protoplastum* is evidently to be understood. The animals were brought to Adam to be named, as a symbol of his pre-eminence and superiority. See the note on *Præagmine*, p. 210, *supra*.

CAPITULUM F.

This is the Title, *De Laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria dicentes*, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudaverunt me angeli*, ut in *Sapientia Salomonis*^b dicitur.

The stars, the luminaries of the ether, being made together
With wondrous structure^c; the angels joined in praising
The Lord of the immense mass, the Architect of the heavenly bodies,
With glorious, meet, and unceasing^d praise,
And with noble consent gave thanks to the Lord,
In love and free will, not from endowment of nature^e.

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CAPITULUM G.

De peccato Adæ, et de secunda ruina Diaboli in seductione Adæ, is the Title^f. This is the Argument, *Maledictus eris serpens, terram comederis omnibus diebus vitæ*, ut in *Genesi* dicitur [*Gen. iii. 14*].

Our first two parents having been assailed and seduced,
The Devil falls a second time^g, with his satellites,
(That, by the horror of whose countenances, and their noise as they fly,
Frail men terrified by fear might be affrighted,
Unable with bodily sight to look on these things),
Who^h are now bound with the ties and bonds of their prison-houses.

40

^a Title.—See the note, p. 210, 211.

^b *Dicentes*.—It is so also in B.; Colgan has corrected it into *dicentibus*.

^c *Sapientia Salomonis*.—See the note, p. 211, *supra*. Both B. and C. put the clause "ut in *Sapientia Salomonis* dicitur" before, not after, the quotation, "*Quando feci celum*," &c. It is remarkable that S. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. xix. tom. i. p. 373; Ed. Bened.*) quotes a passage from Job as the words of Solomon (*τὸ Σολομῶντος*), which the Benedictine editors suppose to be a mistake: "*Lapsus memoriâ hic videtur Gregorius*" (they say) "*dum Salomoni tribuit verba quæ in libro Job occurrunt*;" but others see in this a confirmation of the opinion that Solomon was the author or translator of the Book of Job.—Hardouin, *Chronol. Vet. Test. (Opp. Select., fol. Amstel. 1709, p. 533)*. The editor is not aware of any other instance of the Book of Job being cited under the name of *Sapientia Salomonis*.

^d *Wondrous structure*.—"Factis factura præmirabili," seems to be the connexion.

^e *Unceasing*.—This seems to be the meaning of *immobile*: immovable praise is unceasing, everlasting praise.

^f *Necessity of nature*.—"Donario," gift or endowment of nature. Their praise was the result of love and free will, not arising from any natural organization or necessity. See the Gloss, p. 210.

^g *The Title*.—C. has only, "Tit. *De peccato Adæ*, Argum., ut in *Genesi* dicitur, *Maledicta serpens comedes, terram omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ*." B. gives the Schollum thus: "*Ipe in titulo* [this is the Title], *De peccato Adæ. Ipse in imo argumentum* [this is the Argument], quod in *Genesi* dicitur *Maledictus eris* [sic] *serpens*." See *Gen. iii. 14*.

^h *A second time*.—See note, p. 211.

ⁱ *Who*.—i. e. the Devil and his satellites.

^j *Ties*.—"Fascia" seems here used in the sense of fascia, a tie or ligature.

CAPITULUM II.

De ejectione Diaboli ex unitate angelorum, is the Title¹. But this is the Argument, what is said in Genesis, *Maledicta serpens*. And in the Gospel is said, *Vade retro Satanas* [Mat. iii. 10], et *non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum et illi soli serries* [Mat. iii. 7].

He, taken from the midst², is cast down by the Lord,
And the space³ of the air is thickly filled
With the turbid crowd of his rebellious satellites
Invisible,—lest men infected by their evil examples and crimes,
No screens or walls ever hiding them,
Should openly commit fornication⁴ before the eyes of all.

45

CAPITULUM I.

De eo quod vehunt nubes aquas ad celum, this is the Title⁵. And this is the Argument, as David says, *Educens nubes ab extremo terra*; and elsewhere he says, *Qui producit ventos de thesauris suis*.

The clouds carry the wintry floods from the springs,
From the three⁶ deeper regions of the ocean sea,
To the climates of heaven, in azure whirlwinds;
[Floods⁷] which are to become profitable to the crops, vineyards, and buds,
[The clouds] being driven by the winds issuing from their treasure-houses,
And which empty in turns the pools of the sea.

50

55

¹ Title.—C. gives "the Argument" thus: "Argumentum. vt in Genesi dicitur; *Maledicta* [sic] *serpens comedes terram omnibus diebus*, &c. Et vt in Evangelio; *Vade retrò sathana*, &c."

² The midst.—i. e. from the midst of the angels, or of heaven. The Gloss in B. explains it, "i. a conspectu Dei, vel unitate."

³ And the space.—"Cuius" is paraphrased, and *his*, as best expressing the meaning. See the note, p. 212.

⁴ Fornication.—The Gloss explains that *fornicarentur* here signifies "perdirentur"—lest men should destroy themselves after the example of the devils; or that fornication is put for all sin—"pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur."

⁵ Title.—C. reads, "De eis qui vehunt aquas ad celum;" and for "et alibi dicit" C. has "et vt idem alibi dicit." The words quoted, however, occur in the same passage, Ps. cxxxiv. 7, *Vulg.*

⁶ The three.—It does not appear why our author speaks of "three" *podrantes* of the sea; even

though that word be used in the general sense of a region or division of the ocean, which the Editor has assumed to be its meaning here, in order to escape the difficulty of a literal translation. See the note, p. 213. He has also taken "occiani" as in apposition with "maris;" or perhaps we might translate, "the sea of ocean."

⁷ [Floods].—The word "profuturas" must agree with "pontias," and "agitatur" with "nubes." To express this in English it was necessary to repeat the words *floods* and *clouds* here given within brackets.

⁸ And which.—The Gloss tells us that "quique" refers to "venti." If so, the antecedent "flaminibus" would have required "quaque;" and as this would be as consistent with the metre as "quique," it is strange that our author should have adopted the latter, if he had meant *flaminibus* to be the antecedent. It seems to the Editor more probable that the reference is to the word "fontibus" (line 50), as "nubes" and "pontias" in the same line were just

CAPITULUM K.

De intolerabili panna peccatorum, is the Title. This is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Eecce Gigantes gemunt sub aquis* [Job, xxvi. 5].

The tottering and tyrannical and temporary present glory
Of the world and of kings, set aside¹ by the will of God,
Lo! the giants are justly doomed² to groan under waters
With great torment; to be burnt up with fire and punishment,
And smothered with the swelling Charybdis³ of Cocytus,
Overwhelmed with Scylla's, are dashed to pieces with waves and rocks⁴.

60

CAPITULUM L.

The Title⁵ is, *De moderatione pluvie venientis ex ligatis aquis nubibus ne pariter fluant*. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus ne pariter fluant deorum* [Job, xxvi. 8].

The Lord drops down continually the waters bound up in the clouds,
Lest they should break forth all at once, bursting their barriers,
From whose⁶ very fertilizing streams, gradually flowing,
As from udders, through the regions of this earth,
Cold and warm⁷ at different seasons,
The never-failing rivers are constantly flowing in.

65

before disposed of. Thus the first three lines of this stanza are a statement of the author's notion of the natural phenomenon of rain. The clouds carry up to heaven, from the fountains of the great deep, the waters—whose uses he then proceeds in the next three lines to explain: they are carried up, in order that they may become profitable to the crops and vegetation of the earth; the clouds are driven and carried about by the winds; and the springs or fountains of the ocean, being thus alternately exhausted and replenished, produce the reciprocal flux and reflux of the tides. If this interpretation be correct, we have here a curious ancient philosophical theory of the cause of the tides.

¹ Title.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "TIT. De intolerabili panna peccatorum infinita. Argumentum ut in Libro Job dicitur, *Eecce Gigantes gemunt sub aquis*."

Set aside.—i. e. their glory being set aside, "Gloria nutu Dei depaicta."

² Justly doomed.—"Comprobantur," lit. are approved: that is, it is evident to all that their

doom is just. The meaning seems to be, that the antediluvian giants, who were supposed to be kings, having had their temporal worldly glory put an end to by the just judgment of God, were cast into hell.

³ Charybdis's.—It is necessary to retain the words, Charybdis, Cocytus, and Scylla, because they seem to have been intentionally used by our author as mythologically connected with the punishment of the giants in hell.

⁴ Rocks.—"Scropibus," apparently for *scrupis*, rough or sharp stones.

⁵ The Title.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "De moderatione pluvie vehementia. Argumentum, ut in libro Job dicitur, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus, ne pariter fluant*."

⁶ From whose.—i. e. of the waters, for *quarum* can only refer to *aquas*. The waters bound up in the clouds are, as it were, the breasts, or udders, from which the rivers of the earth are supplied.

⁷ Cold and warm.—i. e. from whose fertilizing streams, which are cold and warm at different seasons.

CAPITULUM M.

De fundamento terræ et de abisso, this is the Title. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit terram [super nihilum]*. Et alibi dicit, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continetur*. Et in Psalmo, *Qui fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*.

By the Divine powers of the great God are sustained
The globe of Earth, and the established* circle of the great abyss.
The strong hand^b of the omnipotent God
Supporting on columns, as on beams sustaining the same^c;
The promontories and rocks, on solid foundations^d,
Immovable as on certain strengthened bases.

70

CAPITULUM N.

De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ et penis ejus et loco, this is the Title. And this is the Argument, *Eruiisti animam meam ex inferno [inferiori]*. Ut in Evangelio dicitur. *Sepultus est dies in inferno*. Et alibi *Ite Maledicti in eternum ignem*. Et alibi *Feris eorum non moritur, et ignis eius non extinguitur*.

To no man seemeth it doubtful that Hell is in the lowest places,
Where are darkness, worms, and dreadful beasts,
Where is sulphureous fire blazing with consuming flames,
Where are the groans of men, weeping, and gnashing of teeth.
Where is the terrible and ancient^e wail of Gehenna.
Where is the fiery horrid burning of thirst and hunger.

75

CAPITULUM O.

The Title^f is, *Of the inhabitants of Hell, who from very shame bow down in the name of the Lord*. The

* *The Title*.—The Scholium, as given by Colgan, is as follows: "TIT. De fundamento terræ, et de abisso. Argumen. vt in Libro Iob: *Qui suspendit terram super nihilum*. Et vt in eodem alibi, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continetur*. Et vt in Psalmo, *Fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*." The passages quoted are Job, xxvi. 7, and Ps. ciii. 5. The second passage is quoted as from the Book of Job. The reader will observe the Irish orthography "abisso" for *abyss*, and "molis" for *moles*.

^a *Established*.—"Inditus," appointed, fixed, settled.

^b *Strong hand*.—See notes, p. 216, above. *Suffulta* seems to be used here in an active sense—"supporting."

^c *The same*.—Scil. the globe of earth.

^d *On solid foundations*.—i. e. resting on solid foundations; an ablative absolute.

^e *Title*.—The words and parts of words supplied in brackets are obscure in the MS. Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "TIT. De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ, et penis ejus, ac loco. Argumentum vt in Psalmo: *Et eruiisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori*. Et in Evangelio: *Sepultus est in Inferno*. Et alibi: *Ite Maledicti in ignem æternum*." The passages of Scripture referred to are, Ps. lxxxv. 13; Luc. xvi. 22; Matt. xxv. 41; Marc. ix. 48.

^f *Ancient*.—Or perhaps *antiquus* may be used in the sense of perpetual, usual, constant.

^g *Title*.—This and the seven following stanzas are supplied from Colgan, a leaf being lost in the Dublin MS. See above, p. 217, and Note D.

Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (Phil. ii. 9)], *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen*, &c. And as in the same [Apoc. v. 1], *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum*, &c.

Below the earth^b, as we read, we know there are dwellers
Whose knee in prayer¹ oft bendeth to the Lord,
To whom it is impossible to unroll the book written,
And sealed² with [seven] seals,
Which He³ had opened, and so became victorious,
Fulfilling the prophesied pre-eminence⁴ of His advent. 85

CAPITULUM P.

The Title is, *De Paradiso Adæ, id est, loco deliciarum*. The Argument, as is said in Genesis, *Plantaverat Paradisum voluptat[is] a principio* [Gen. ii. 8]. And in the Apocalypse [ii. 7], *Dabo ei manducare de ligno quisto* [leg. vita], *quod est in Paradiso Dei mei*. And again [xxii. 2], *Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vite, afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium*.

That Paradise was planted by the Lord from the beginning,
We read in the most noble beginning of Genesis,
From whose fountain four rivers are flowing,
And in whose flowery midst is placed⁵ the tree of life,
Whose leaves bringing health to the Gentiles do not fall,
Whose joys⁶ are unspeakable and abundant. 90

CAPITULUM Q.

The Title⁷ is, *De ascensione Moysis ad Dominum in monte Sinai*; as is said in the Law, *Moyse accendit, et descendit gloria ejus super montem Sinai* [Exod. xxiv. 15, 16]. Or the more correct Title is, *De*

^b *Below the earth*.—This seems founded on Apoc. v. 3: "No man in heaven, or in earth, or under the earth, could open the book;" and cf. v. 13; also Phil. ii. 10. In the title they are spoken of as the "incolæ inferi qui vel robore flectant in nomine Domini."

¹ *In prayer*.—This word seems here to be an adverb; "procaro flecti," bends prayerwise, or in prayer.

² *Sealed*.—Colgan gives this line imperfectly thus:—

"Ob signatum signaculis . . . monitis;"

the intermediate words having doubtless been illegible in the MS. Perhaps the hiatus may be thus supplied:

"Ob signatum signaculis septem licet præmonitis."

³ Although having been forewarned and called upon to do so.—Apoc. v. 2.

⁴ *Which He*.—"Idem" seems to refer to *Do-*

mino, ver. 81. But the construction is obscure, and the text probably corrupt—"Which [book] He had the same Lord had opened, by which [book] He had become Conqueror"—Victor, alluding to Apoc. v. 5: "Ecce vicit Leo de tribu Juda," &c.

⁵ *Pre-eminence*.—"Præsignamina." See p. 209, *supra*, and note, p. 210; also Add. Note B, p. 23. But it is probable that "præsignmen" is here used in the sense of prophecy: "fulfilling the prophetic predictions of His coming."

⁶ *Je placed*.—"Cujus et tua" in Colgan's text, which makes no sense, is corrected in his errata to "cujus et situm," and the line has been translated accordingly.

⁷ *Whose joys*.—For "cujus inenarrabiles" in the original of this line, as given by Colgan, perhaps we should read "cujus sunt innarrabiles."

⁸ *Title*.—The second version of the Title and Argument here given is a proof of the antiquity of the

mirabilibus gloria adventus Domini in montem. But the Argument is, *Facta sunt tonitrua, et voces, et fulgura, et terra motus* [Apoc. xvi. 18].

Who hath ascended to Sinai, the appointed^o mountain of the Lord?
 Who hath heard the thunders beyond measure resounding?
 Who the clang of the enormous trumpet^o roaring?
 Who hath seen also the lightnings flashing around?
 Who the lamps^o and darts and falling rocks?
 Who but Moses the judge of the people of Israel?

95

CAPITULUM R.

The Title is, *De Die judicii, et nominibus ejus.* The Argument, what Zephaniah says, *Juxta est dies Domini magnus et velox nimis*, &c. [Zeph. i. 14-16].

The day of the Lord, of the King of Kings most righteous, is at hand;
 A day of wrath and vengeance, of darkness and cloud;
 And a day of wonderful strong thunders;
 A day of trouble also, of grief and sadness:
 In which shall cease the love and desire of women,
 And the strife of men, and the lust of this world.

100

CAPITULUM S.

The Title is, *De tremenda presentia Dei, in die judicii.* The Argument, as in the second Epistle to the Corinthians [v. 10], *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi*, &c. And as is said in the Gospel, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua* [Matt. xvi. 27].

We shall be standing trembling before the judgment-seat of the Lord;
 And we shall give an account of all our deeds;
 Beholding also our crimes laid open before our sight,
 And the books of conscience opened before us,
 We shall break forth into most bitter weeping and sobs,
 The necessary matter of working being withdrawn.

105

CAPITULUM T.

The Title is, *De resurrectione prolis Adæ.* The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (1 Thes. iv. 16)], *Ipsæ Dominus ut in juvæ, et in voce Archangeli in tuba descendet de calo.* And again [Apoc. x. 7], *In diebus vocis septimi angeli, cum aperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.*

Hymn, showing that several ancient copies of it were in circulation before the MS. from which Colgan edited it was written.

^o *Appointed.*—“Condictum.” So Gen. xvii. 14, “Juxta condictum revertar ad te.”

^o *Trumpet.*—Lit. “the clang of the trumpet,” or “the clang of the enormity of the trumpet.” *Perstrepere*, not *perstrepere*, is probably the true read-

ing. See p. 245, *infra*.

^o *The lamps.*—Alluding to Exod. xx. 18.

^o *The necessary matter.*—The meaning is obscure; the author probably intended to say that there shall then no longer be any power of doing good or evil: and so no place for repentance; there being no longer any “*materia operandi*”—no means of making amends.

The trumpet of the first Archangel sounding wondrous things, 110
 The strongest cloisters, and cemeteries, shall burst,
 The melting cold of the men of this present world,
 The bones gathering together from all sides to their joints,
 The ethereal souls meeting the same,
 And returning again to their due mansions. 115

CAPITULUM U.

The Title is, *De tribus sideribus, thronos septem significantibus*. The Argument, as in the Book of Job, *Qui facit Orionem, et interiora Austri* [Job, ix. 9]. *Numquid Luciferum et Vesperum in tempora certa constituitis* [Job, xxxviii. 32].

[This Capitulum is so corrupt in Colgan's Edition of the Hymn, that the Editor does not venture to attempt a translation. See Note D.]

CAPITULUM X.

The Title is, *De die iudicii et praevalente ligno crucis*. The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [vi. 15, 16], *Abscondent se in speluncas et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite*. And in the Gospel [Matt. xxiv. 29], *Statim post turbationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stelle cadent de calo*.

Christ the Most High Lord coming down from Heaven,
 The most glorious sign and banner of the Cross shall shine,
 And the two principal luminaries being struck,
 The stars shall fall to the earth, as fruit from the fig-tree, 125
 And the compass of the world shall be as the burning of a furnace,
 Then shall the hosts hide themselves in the caves of the mountains.

CAPITULUM Y.

De Laude Dei [Domini. C.] ab angelis, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [iv. 4], *In circuitu throni vidi sedes, xxiv. seniores, sedentes in veste alba et capitibus eorum corona aurea vidi*.

By the chaunting of hymns continually resounding
 Thousands of Angels singing in holy dances; 130

¹ *Cemeteries*.—See Du Cange, in v., *Polyandrum*, *Polyandrium*.

² *The cold*.—This line is very obscure, and the readings probably corrupt. Is the word *frigora* the subject or object of *erumpent*? And is *liquescentia* a participle?—if so, what is the construction? "*Liquescentia*" occurs in Du Cange as a substantive, in the sense of "apparentia, vel defectus, vel liquiditas." But this gives no very good sense.

Perhaps we should read "hominem;" and translate, "The cold of this present world, melting [i. e. dissolving or destroying] man, shall burst the cloisters and cemeteries." The translation given above is an attempt to render literally the existing text; it assumes *frigora* to be the object of *erumpent*.

³ *Dances*.—"Tropodia," perhaps for *tripudia*, as in C.,—a word which is used in the Vulg., Eccl. viii. 16, to denote "dances" as a manifestation of joy,

And the four Animals full of eyes,
 With the four-and-twenty blessed elders,
 Casting their crowns under the feet of the Lamb of God,
 The Trinity is praised, with three eternal repetitions*.

CAPITULUM Z.

De natione impiorum nolentes [sic] *Christum credere, et de gaudio justorum*, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [read "in the Apostle"], *Terribilis ignis consumet adversarios* [Hebr. x. 27]. And elsewhere the Apostle* says *Mansiones multa sunt apud Patrem*; and Christ says, *In domo Patris mei multe mansiones sunt* [John, xiv. 3].

The furious indignation of fire shall devour the adversaries, 135
 Who refuse to believe that Christ is come from God the Father,
 But we shall fly forthwith to meet Him,
 And so shall we be with Him in various orders of dignities
 According to the perpetual merits of our rewards,
 To remain in glory, for ever and ever. 140

At the end of the Hymn are two *Antiphons*, in the same metre as the Hymn itself, and probably coeval with it, or nearly so. The former of these, as the Preface tells us, is to be sung, in reciting the Hymn, after each Stanza or Capitulum; but no mention is made of the second. The former is therefore certainly older than this Preface; the latter probably more modern, although it is also evidently very ancient.

The former may be translated thus:—

Who can please God, in this last time?
 When the noted marks of truth are changed,
 Except the despisers of this present world.

The second Antiphon is an express invocation of the Trinity, and was probably intended to be used instead of the former, in order to meet the objection which had been made*, that the author, in this Hymn, had not dwelt sufficiently on the praises of the Trinity. See the next Hymn.

"gaudium, honor, et tripudium." *Fervantibus* is rendered "singing." See Du Cange, in voc., who cites, in proof of this signification, a passage from the Life of St. Peter, afterwards Pope Celestine V. (Acta SS. tom. iv. Mail, p. 423); where the word is applied to the singing of angels, a great company of whom was seen by the Saint in vision: "et in ore cujusque illorum erant rose rubee, et cum illis rose vernabant dilectabiliter nimis; ita quod postquam excitatus fuisset a somno, cantum illum

audierit per tantum spatium, quo posset dici *Pater noster*."

* *Repetitions*.—"Vices," *changes*, alluding to the "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus."—Apoc. iv. 8.

* *The Apostle*.—See above, note, p. 218.
 † *We shall fly*.—This seems founded on 1 Thess. iv. 13-17.

† *For ever and ever*.—The reading of C. is here adopted. See p. 219, note.

* *Made*.—This objection is stated in the Preface

This second Antiphon may be thus translated:—

God the Father, unbegotten, Lord of heaven and earth,
And the Son, begotten of Him, before all worlds,
And the Holy Ghost, one, true, most High God,
I invoke; that He may give most ready help,
To me the least of all His servants,
Whom the Lord hath made one with the myriads of Angels^b.

NOTE D.

The Stanzas missing in the Dublin Copy of the Liber Hymnorum.

THE following are the Stanzas wanting in the Dublin MS. in consequence of the loss of one leaf, as already mentioned, p. 217, note on line 79. As the Editor has no access to any other copy of this Hymn except that printed by Colgan in the *Trias Thaumaturga*, and as that work is now very scarce, he has thought fit to preserve the missing stanzas here, although Colgan's text is full of inaccuracies and errors of the press, some of which will be corrected, wherever the correction is obvious and certain; and some other conjectural emendations will be suggested in the notes:—

TRT. De incolis infirmi, qui vel rubore flectunt in nomine Domini. ARGUMENTUM: ut in Apocalipsi; *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, &c.* Et ut in eadem, *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum, &c.*

O rbem infra, ut legitur^d, incolae esse novimus, 80
Quorum genu precario^c frequenter flectit Dominus,
Quibusque impossibile librum scriptum revolvete^e,
Obseignatum^f signaculis monitis,
Quem idem resignaverat, per quem victor extiterat,
Explens sui praesagmina adventus propheta^g. 85

TRT. De Paradiso Ada, id est, loco deliciarum. ARGUM.^h Ut in Genesi dicitur; *Plantaverat Paradi-*

(see p. 112), "And they said that there was no fault in the Hymn, except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*," &c.

^b *Angels*.—Perhaps alluding to Mark, xii. 25.

^c *Argumentum*.—The first passage here quoted as from the Apocalypse, is really from Phil. ii. 9, by a mistake that often occurs of "Apoc." for "Apostle." The second is from Apoc. v. 1.

^d *Ut legitur*.—Alluding to Phil. ii. 10; Apoc. v. 3, 13.

^e *Precario*.—See above, p. 240, note.

^f *Revolvere*.—The Vulgate has "aperire librum." Sabatier does not mention the reading *revolvere*, which seems to be ancient, from its agreement with the original roll form of books.

^g *Obseignatum*.—See the conjectural emendation of this line already proposed, note, p. 240, *supra*.

^h *Argumentum*.—Colgan gives the first quotation from the Apocalypse thus: "Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto," which is an obvious error of tran-

sum voluptatis a principio. Et in Apocalipsi: *Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto* [log. vite] *quod est in paradiso Dei mei.* Et alibi, *Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vite afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium.*

Plantatum a probenio Paradisum a Domino
Legimus in Primordio Genesis nobilissimo.
Cujus ex fonte flumina quatuor sunt manantia,
Cujus et¹ situm florido lignum vite est medio
Cujus non cadunt folia² gentibus salutifera
Cujus inenarrabiles³ delicias ac fertiles.

90

TIT. *De ascensione Moysis⁴ ad Dominum in monte Sinai.* **ARGUM.** Quod in *Legē* dicitur, *Moyse ascendit, et descendit⁵ gloria ejus super montem Sinai.* Vel verior titulus est, *De mirabilibus gloriæ adventus Domini in montem.* **ARGUMENTUM** vero, *Facta sunt tonitrua et voces, et fulgura, et terræ motus.*

Quis ad conductum Domini montem conscendit Sinai,
Quis audivit tonitrua supra modum sonantia?
Quis clangorem⁶ perstreperæ enormitatis buccinæ?
Quis quoque vidit fulgura in gyro coruscantia?
Quis lampades et jacula, saxaque collidentia?
Præter Israelitici Moysen judicem populi?

95

TIT. *De die Judicii et nominibus ejus.* **ARGUM.** Quod Sophonias dixit, *Juxta est dies Domini magnus, et velox nimis; dies illa, dies ira, et furoris, et angustia; die calamitatis et miseria; dies tenebrarum et caliginis; dies nebulae et turbinis; dies tubæ et clangoris.*

Regis regum rectissimi, prope est dies Domini;
Dies ire et vindictæ, tenebrarum et nebulae;
Diesque mirabilium tonitruorum fortium;
Dies quoque angustiae, mœroris ac tristitiæ;
In quo cessabit mulierum amor et desiderium,
Hominumque contentio, mundi hujus et cupiditas.

100

scription for "de ligno vite," *vite* having been probably mistaken for *eto*. *Manducare* is an ancient reading, for which the modern Vulgate has *edere*, Apoc. ii. 7. The "Commentary on the Apocalypse," printed with the works of St. Augustine, reads *manducare*. In the other passage of the Apocalypse referred to (xviii. 2), the modern Vulgate reads *sanitatem* for *curationem*, which last is the reading of the ante-Hieronymian version, and is so quoted by St. Hilary and St. Ambrose. See Sabatier, *in loco*.

¹ *Cujus et.*—Colgan has printed this line thus:

"Cujus et tua florido lignum vite est medio," but he corrects it as above in his *Errata*.

² *Folia.*—Colgan has *falia*, an obvious error of

the press, which he has corrected as above in his *Errata*.

³ *Inenarrabiles.*—See note, p. 240.

⁴ *Moyse.*—Colgan prints *Maysis*, which is evidently an error of the press.

⁵ *Descendit.*—Colgan puts a full stop after this word, which of course is also an error of the press.

⁶ *Quis clangorem.*—Colgan prints this line thus: "Quis clangorem derestremere ormitatis buccinæ," but he corrects it in his *Errata* as above: where *perstreperæ* seems to be an adjective agreeing with *buccinæ*, unless we should read *perstreperæ*. See above, p. 241, note.

⁷ *Cupido.*—The penultimate syllable is here short.

TIT. *De tremebunda presentia Dei in die iudicii.* ARGUM. ut in secunda Epistola ad Corinthios, *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi, ut referat unusquisque propria sui corpora prout gessit, sive bonum, sive malum.* Et ut in Evangelio dicitur, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.*

S tantes erimus¹ paridi ante tribunal Domini;
Reddemusque de omnibus rationem effectibus²; 105
Videntes quoque posita ante obtutus crimina,
Librosque conscientie patefactos in facie,
In fletus amarissimos ac singultus erumpemus,
Subtracta necessaria operandi materia.

TIT. *De resurrectione prolis Ada.* ARGUM. Ut in Apocalypsi, *Ipse Dominus ut in jussu et voce Archangeli in tuba descendet de caelo.* Et iterum; in diebus vocis septimi Angeli, cum aperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.

T uba¹ primi Archangeli strepente admirabilia, 110
Erumpent munitissima claustra ac poliandria,
Mundi presentia frigora hominum liquescentia,
Undique conglobantibus ad compagines ossibus,
Animabus aetherialibus eisdem obeuntibus,
Rursusque redentibus debitis in mansionibus.

TIT. *De tribus syderibus¹ thronos septem² significantibus.* ARGUM. Ut in libro Job, *Qui fecit Orionem et interiora Austris. Nunquid luciferum et vesperum in tempora certa constituit.*

V agatur ex climatico³ Orion celi cardine,
Derelicto Virgilio⁴ astrorum splendidissimo,

¹ *Erimus.*—The penultimate is here apparently long.

² *Effectibus.*—Acts or deeds, as contradistinguished from thoughts or intentions.

³ *Erumpemus.*—The penultimate is here made short.

⁴ *Tuba.*—Alluding to 1 Thess. iv. 16, a passage which is quoted in the Scholium as if it was in the Apocalypse, by an error that repeatedly occurs. But Apoc. viii. 7, seems also to be referred to.

⁵ *De tribus syderibus.*—Sidus is properly a constellation consisting of several stars, "Sidera vero sunt stellis plurimis facta, ut Hyades, Pleiades" (Isidor. Hispal. *Etymol.* lib. iii. 60).

⁶ *Thronos septem.*—This is probably an allusion to St. Gregor. *Moral.* lib. ix. (in Job, ix. 9), "Quid namque Arcturi nomine, qui in cœli axe constitutus, septem stellarum radiis fulget, nisi Ecclesia univer-

salis exprimitur, quæ in Johannis Apocalypsi per septem Ecclesias, septemque candelabras figuratur?" Compare also the *Glossa Ordinaria*, in loc., which is founded on this passage of St. Gregory.

⁷ *Climatico.*—*Clima* is *inclination* (see *Dn Cange* in voc.); and this line may possibly be rendered "Orion wanders from the inclined pole of heaven," meaning the North Pole, which appears in these latitudes above the horizon—"Cardines extreme axis partes sunt."—Isid. Hispal. *De Natura rerum*, C. xii. n. 3 (Opp. *Rome*, 1803, tom. vii. p. 21).

⁸ *Virgilio.*—Usually written *Vergilius*, sometimes *Virgilius*, the constellation called the *Pleiades*; so called according to some (e.g. Voss. in *Etymol.*), "a virgula, quod virgule more porrigatur." But others derive the name from *ver*, as Festus, who says "Vergiliam dictam, quia earum ortu ver finitur, et æstas incipit." And so also Isid. Hispal. *De*

Per methas Tithis¹ Ignoti Orientalis circuli
 Girans certis ambagibus redivit priscis reditibus,
 Oriens post biennium, vesperego² in vesperum,
 Sumpta in proplasmatis³ tropicis intellectibus.

120

TIT. De die iudicii et præfulgente ligno crucis. ANO. ut in Apocalypsi, Abscondent se in speluncis et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite. Et in Evangelio; Statim posturbationem dierum illorum, sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellæ cadent de caelo.

X to de caelis Domino descendente altissimo,
 Præfulgebit clarissimum signum crucis et vexillum
 Tactisque luminaribus duobus principalibus
 Cadent in terram sydera, ut fructus de ficulnea,
 Eritque mundi spatium, ut fornacis incendium,
 Tunc in montium specubus abscondent se exercitus.

125

NOTE E.

The Religious use of the "Altus"—Legend of Maelsuthain O' Cearbhaill.

THE Editor is indebted to his friend Professor Curry for permission to extract the following curious Legend from the interesting and valuable volume of Lectures on Irish History and Literature, which that gentleman is about to publish. There are very few allusions to the "Altus" in Irish history, and of these the greater part occur in the biographies of its author; the following singular Legend is the only allusion to

Naturæ rerum, c. xxvi. n. 6 (tom. vii. p. 39, edit. Areval. Romæ, 1803):—"Has [Pleades] Latini vergilias appellaverunt, eo quod vere orientur," &c. (Conf. Ejuad. *Etymol.* lib. iii. cap. lxxi. n. 13). St. Ambrose (*De interpellatione Job*, lib. i. c. iv. n. 11) quotes Job. ix. 9 from an ancient Latin version, thus: "Qui facit vergilias, et hesperum, et septentrionem, et austri ministerium." The text of this Capitulum is so evidently corrupt, that until access can be had to the copy preserved at Rome, which is the only other MS. of the Hymn known to exist, it would be waste of time to attempt a translation.

¹ *Tithis*.—Perhaps we should read *Hyadis*, or *Hiadis*; *Hia* being pronounced as a monosyllable; unless "metas Tithis" be a corruption of the Greek

word *metastasis*, or *metathesis*, in the acc. plur.; the "metastases of the unknown eastern circle,"—which may signify the inverted or unseen portions of the eastern circle, viz., that part of it which was below the horizon. See Bede, *de Temporum ratione*, cap. 34, where the ancient theory which our author seems to have had in view is explained (ed. Giles, tom. vi. p. 214, seq.).

² *Vesperugo*.—An evening star.

³ *Proplasmatis*.—The Greek word, *πρόπλασμα*, signifies a clay model for the use of an artist; but this can scarcely be its meaning here. This last line, which seems quite unintelligible, is evidently corrupt; but, without the aid of another MS., correction is impossible.

the religious use of the Hymn which has come to the knowledge of the Editor. From this story it appears that the recitation of the Hymn was practised as a religious exercise, and that it was supposed to be efficacious in obtaining from the Almighty the recovery of the sick.

The Legend was extracted by Mr. Curry from the "Liber Flavus Fergusorum," a MS. in vellum, of the fifteenth century, in two volumes, quarto, now in the possession of James Marinus Kennedy, Esq., of 47, Gloucester-street, Dublin, by whom it was inherited from his ancestor, Dr. John Fergus, an eminent Irish scholar and antiquary, who was well known as a physician in Dublin at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

It will be necessary to give the reader some short account of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, or O'Carroll, to whom the following Legend relates. He was chieftain of the Eoghanacht Lecha Léin, that is, of the descendants of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilliol Olum, who inhabited a district including Loch Léin, the present Lake of Killarney, in the barony of Magunihy, county of Kerry. He was a man of eminent learning, and is supposed to have collected the materials from which the Annals of Inisfallen (an island in the lower Lake of Killarney) were compiled. In the story which follows he is called Gnnchapa, or *Counsellor* of the celebrated Brian Boromhe, King of Ireland, and, as Mr. Curry thinks, was probably the tutor or teacher of that monarch. The Book of Armagh, a MS. now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains a curious note in the handwriting of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, written about A.D. 1002, in the presence of King Brian Boromhe, which the Editor of this work had the honour of exhibiting to her Majesty Queen Victoria, at her visit to the Great Dublin Exhibition of 1853.

At the close of his life Maelsuthain, as the Legend relates, devoted himself to penitential exercises, and appears to have become a monk in the religious establishment of this island of Inisfallen. His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters at the year 1009, the true date being 1010:—

Maolpuchain Ua Cearbhaill do rianmair
Inni Parletha, prinnipar sapteair borhain
ua aumrur, 7 eiseirna Cozanantra Loza Léin,
bécc.

Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, of the family [i. e. a religious community] of Inis Faithlenn, chief doctor of the western world in his time, and Lord of the Eoghanacht of Loch Léin, died.

^b *Compiled*.—See O'Reilly's Irish Writers (Transact. Ibero-Celtic Society), at the year 1009.

^c *Book of Armagh*.—This most remarkable MS. was purchased by His Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, and presented to the Library of Trinity College in the year 1854. His Grace has subsequently

placed in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Reeves a sum of money sufficient to defray the expenses of the publication of the MS., and we may shortly expect to see it in print, with introductory matter and notes, under the able editorial skill of that accomplished scholar.

We may now give the Legend itself, with Mr. Curry's translation:—

Триар foglannneiz eannicubap o cuinnioi do beannu leiginn tinnuoniu ainnceapab bhuon mo Ceinneidigh .i. muilpeam huac Ceapbail, deogmaac loca lein, ar ba he eonatu ba fearr ma ainmhu he. I ramlau po babar in triar foglannneiziu, i com- curat, i coibdealba, i aenaim poipio .i. bofnall an eaimm. Ro babar moipio tri bla- dno ac foglam ecco. A cinn tri blaaban a bupbabar fpu noiu: ipi ail linn, ap riab, bul coipioi Iepualem ipiu tri luba, gu po imcibiu ap cora cech conap no imig an eSlaimic a calaui. A bubapre in eabiu: Ni pachaib no gu pagbachai luach mo paip [paetip] acumpa. A bupbabar na balcub: Ni ful acuinu, ap riab; ni bo bermuipbuic, ac e beunio tri blaaba aile ag oibulob bu- icc, maib ail leacc. Ni h-ail, appe, ac e beo cobpau mo bueit peiu bam, no den bar ne- apgane. Do berum, apriab, bia riob acuinu. Ro riapre poipio po foipcela in coimbeab, pachaib, appe, in conap ipi ail lio, i bii moipiu riob a naeifceac ap an ecurap, i ipi bueach concim opuibiu, can bul ap neaiu iap neguib buib, no co eipobab eucumpa ap bii bia inn- iun bam ce riab mo paegail, i co po inuipiu an paizam cennu in coimbi. Deallmuibne buicpi an ni riun a huac an coimbi, apriab; po inuipiu [an] iun, i puapab beannacatun leo o na noiu, i po paizue beannacatun agi bna. Ro puipeac cech conap no cuababap in eSlaimic bo imicce. Rannicubap bna po- beoib coipioi Iepualem, i puapupbar bar aneifceac ann, i po haonacacac co nonoip moip iab in Iepualem. Tannic Miceal apic- angeal o Dia ara ceann. I bupbabar iun: ni paizum no go rianauim in bueach eugram pua ap noiu po foipcela Cipue. Iachigib [read imchigib], ap mo angil, i inuipiu bo tri blaaba co lech agi bo paegail, i a bul in

There came three students at one time from *Cuin- nire*^a to receive education from the *Anmchara* [soul- friend] of Brian Mac Ceinneidigh^b that is, Macleathain Ua Cearbhaill, of the Eognach of Loch Lein, because he was the best sage of his time. These three stu- dents resembled each other in figure, in features, and in their name, which was Domnall. They remained three years learning with him. At the end of three years they said to their preceptor: "It is our de- sire," said they, "to go to Jerusalem, in the land of Judea, in order that our feet may tread every path which the Saviour trod on earth." The tutor an- swered: "You shall not go until you have left with me the reward of my labour." The pupils said: "We have not," said they, "anything that we could give thee, but we will remain three years more, to serve thee humbly, if thou desire it." "I do not wish that," said he, "but you shall grant me my own demand, or I will lay my curse upon you." "We will grant thee that," said they, "if we can." He then bound them by an oath on the Gospel of the Lord. "You shall go in the path that you desire," said he, "and you shall die all at the same time to- gether, on the pilgrimage. And the demand I require from you is, that you go not to heaven after your deaths, until you have first visited me, to tell me the length of my life, and until you tell me whether I shall obtain the peace of the Lord." "We promise thee this," said they, "for the sake of the Lord," and then they departed, and they took a blessing with them from their tutor, and they left him their blessing also. They walked in every path in which they had heard the Saviour had walked. They came at last to Jerusalem, and there they found their joint death, and were buried with great honour in Jerusalem. Then Michael the Archangel came from God for them. But they said: "We will not go, until we fulfil the promise we made to our preceptor, on the Gospel of Christ." "Go," said the angel, "and tell him that he has still three years and a half to

^a *Cuinnire*.—The ancient church from which the diocese of Connor, in Ulster, is now named.

^b *Brian Mac Ceinneidigh*.—Brian, son of Ce- neidigh, or Kennedy: the celebrated Brian Boromha.

ipinn co bpath, iarrin berup an bpeach
allo bpatha fap.

Inur buinn, ap riab, cib ma cupéar in ip-
pinn é. Ap epi fachuib, ap in eangil, .i. ara
meb corpece ar canon, aghur a meb do
innairi fpuirib comruceann, aghur ap epegab
an altupa.

Ipe imorro fad ar ap epeigruim an altup
.i. mac maie pobaeis acon [read *occe*] .i.
maelpathaic a ann. Ro gab an altup do feadé ma emeall
ap baib conabbaib marb in mac. Nip car-
baib baibruib rin, uair ba marb in mac pa
ceobur. Ibubairt Maelpuáin nach gebaib
altup epe bieuib o naé facaib anoir ao
Dia fap. 7 ni bearganur euc Dia bon Al-
tup gan flainti baib mac fan, adé fearp
leir in mac do beith ebur muinnur neime na
ebur muinnur calman. po baib Maelpu-
áin feadé mbiaóna cen Altup do gabail.
Iarrin eangabar a criup balcaib do aghal-
uib Maelpuáin ipecaib epi colum ngeal,
7 fearpam faileir fpu. Innurib baib ce fub
mo faegail, 7 an faduim foéruici. Acais, ap
riabruim, epi bbiaóna do faegul acub, 7 do
bul a nppinn cobpath iarrin. Cib ima mbe-
inn a nppinn, ap eipin. ap epi fachaib, ap
riabruim, 7 po innurib na epi faéa a bu-
brumair pomuinn. Ni ba rin mo bulra an
ipinn, ap re, uair na epi huic rin, ap re,
acaic ocompa anu, ni biab ocompa anu,
ni biab ocompa ofunn amach, 7 epeigreabra na
huic rin, 7 loépaib Dia bam iab, amail po
geall fein an ean a bubairt: "impietar im-
piff in quacunque hora conuerfup fuerit
non nocebit ei." Ni bén bna, ciail uaim péin
iirin canóim [adé] amail no geib ipna leu-
bhuib diahuib. Gebab bna céb flectain

live, and that he goes to hell for ever, after the sen-
tence is passed upon him on the day of judgment."

"Tell us," said they, "why he is sent to hell."
"For three causes," said the angel, "viz., because
of how much he interpolates the canon; and be-
cause of the number of women with whom he has
lain; and for having abandoned the *Altus*."

The reason why he abandoned the *Altus* was this:
He had a good son, whose name was Maelpat-
trick. This son was seized with a mortal sickness,
and the *Altus* was sung seven times around him, that
the son should not die. This was, however, of no avail
for them, as the son died forthwith. Maelsuthain
then said that he would never again sing the *Altus*,
as he did not see that God honoured it. But it was
not in dishonour of the *Altus* that God did not re-
store his son to health, but because He chose that the
youth should be among the family of heaven, rather
than among the people of earth. Maelsuthain had
then been seven years without singing the *Altus*.
After this his three pupils came to talk to Maelsuthain,
in the forms of three white doves, and he bade them
welcome. "Tell me" [said he]
"what shall be the length of my life, and if I shall
receive the heavenly reward." "Thou hast," said
they, "three years to live, and thou goest to hell for
ever then." "What should I go to hell for?" said
he. "For three causes," said they; and they re-
lated to him the three causes that we have already
mentioned. "It is not true that I shall go to hell,"
said he, "for those three vices that are mine this day,
shall not be mine even this day, nor shall they be
mine from this time forth, and I will abandon these
vices, and God will forgive me for them, as He Him-
self hath promised, when He said: 'Impietas impil
in quacunque hora conuersus fuerit non nocebit
ei' [Ezek. xxxiii., 12]. I will put no sense of my
own into the canon, but such as I shall find in the

¹ *The Canon*.—This apparently signifies the code
of ecclesiastical laws, which Maelsuthain was called
upon to administer as chieftain of his tribe, and which
he had probably often interpreted so as to suit his
own secular interests or inclinations: for he after-

wards in this narrative is made to promise, "I will
put no sense of my own into the Canon, but such as
I shall find in the divine books." But the word *Can-*
on is used also to signify the Old or New Testament.
See Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 359, note ^o.

cech lai. Seadó mbliaðna atcupa gen Altur do gabail, 7 gebab in cAltur po react ceó noisóð cen beb beo, 7 do ben tpeginur ceóa peactemune. Denaid pi vno toót bocum neime, ap ie, 7 eigi allo meirbeácta binnipin poet baif. Tiuapamuit, ap iab, 7 do cuabap a criup fon tuapurebail cebna, 7 po beannactab bo, 7 po beannad ruif baif iurif. Mo an eirbeácta tangubap a criup fon tuapurebail cebna, 7 po beannachachu [7 beannacha] each ba deile vif, 7 po fiapraib vif: in inann no beactap inbiu ac Dia 7 an la eile tangubur bom agalluib. Ni hinann umoppo, apriab, uap do reapbenab buinne éinabpa ap neim, 7 ip leop linnó a feabur. Tangamapne anu, amail po geallamapne, ap do ceannpa, 7 ear linn ap amur an maib iin, co pobuip i pacpacap De 7 an aenacib na Tri-notib, 7 muinncripi neime, co bpat na mbreaceth.

Ip anupin po éinobib pacap [pacapre] 7 cleipib imba cuigi, 7 po hongab he, 7 ni po rgarab a buleab riup no gu nbeabap bo cum neime. 7 ipre pecepreua [peceprepa] in ipi maib iin aca in inuip paclenn ipin eclair por. Fime.

Another brief allusion to the *Altus* occurs in the *Mesca*, or "Intoxication," of St. Columcille, a pretended prophecy attributed to that saint, and said to have been written a week before his death. At the conclusion of this forgery (which was probably composed in the seventeenth century), St. Columcille is made to say that he leaves the *Altus*, with some other of his compositions, as a legacy to the men of Ireland^b.

* *Screpta*.—This word appears to be a corruption of *Scriptura*; but whether it signifies here a single work, or a collection of MSS., Mr. Curry professes himself unable to determine. The Four Masters mention the burning of Armagh, A. D. 1020, in which the only house that escaped was the Teach peceprepa, "Docus Scripturarum," the Bibliotheca or Library (as Colgan, and O'Donovan, translate it), but which was more probably the *Scriptorium*, i. e. the house or apartment in which books were written. See Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 405, sq. But at the date 1417 (p. 829), the Four

divine books. I will perform an hundred genuflections every day. Seven years have I been without singing the *Altus*, and now I will sing the *Altus* seven times every night while I live; and I will keep a three days' fast every week. Go you now to heaven," said he, "and come on the day of my death to tell me the result." "We will come," said they; and the three of them departed as they came, first leaving a blessing with him, and receiving a blessing from him. On the day of his death the three came in the same forms, and they saluted him, and he returned their salutation, and said to them: "Is my life the same before God that it was on the former day that ye came to talk to me?" "It is not, indeed, the same," said they, "for we were shown thy place in heaven, and we are satisfied with its goodness. We have come, as we promised, for thee, and come now with us to the place which is prepared for thee in the presence of God, and in the unity of the Trinity, and of the hosts of heaven, until the judgment of judgments."

There then assembled about him many priests and ecclesiastics, and he was anointed, and his pupils parted not from him until they all went to heaven together. And it is this good man's writings ["screpta"] that are in Inisfallen, in the church, still.

Masters record the burning of the Church of Inis Mor [now Church Island] in Loch Gill, near Sligo, in which the "Screapra Uí Chuirin," or MSS. of O'Cairin, and the "Leabhar Gear" [short book] of the same family, were burned. See Dr. O'Donovan's notes on this passage.

^b *Ireland*.—See this passage quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. lxxx., where, however, in the third line, for ag níg an eirca, read mo mheargu, and translate "My *Amhra*, my *Mesca*, pure, bright." For a further account of the *Mesca*, see Prof. Curry's *Lectures*, p. 406, sq.

XV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "IN TE CHRISTE."

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan, probably from the MS. now preserved at St. Isidore's College in Rome. Colgan's text is the only copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access for collation with the Dublin MS.; and is referred to in the notes by the letter C. It is the more to be regretted that we have not access to the Isidorian MS., because the Irish Preface is in many places illegible, and the preface, as published by Colgan, is either a mere abridgment of his original, or must have been translated from a different text.

Colgan's version of the Preface¹ is as follows:—

"*In te Christe, &c.* S. Columba composuit hunc hymnum cursivo rythmo. Et causa fuit, quod parce disseruerit de sacro-sancta Trinitate in Hymno præcedenti, quem alioquin optimum pronunciavit S. Gregorius Papa."

The following is a translation of all that is now legible of the Irish Preface in the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* :—

"*In te Christe.* Columcille made this Hymn. He made it in rhythm: sixteen syllables in each line: but some say that it was not Columcille at all that composed it, [except] from the words "Christus Redemptor," to [the words] "Christus crucem," and that is the reason why many repeat that part only. The place² was Hy; the time, that of Aedh son of Ainmire; the cause was, when he sent [messengers to Rome] with the Altus, Gregory found fault with Columcille, because he had put into it [too scanty praise of the Trinity]."

In this translation the Editor has supplied within brackets, by conjecture, what appears to have been the sense of the matter contained in the passages now illegible; guided by the account of the occasion upon which this Hymn

¹ Preface.—Trias Thaum., p. 475.

Hymn was composed. See above, p. 220,

² The place.—That is, the place where the and notes.

was composed, as told in the Preface to the *Altus*. It will be observed, however, that the censure said to have been passed by Pope Gregory upon the *Altus* is differently expressed in the three versions of its Preface, which have been already given at length¹. In the version given in our Dublin MS., the censure is put into the mouth of St. Columba's messenger (which is most probably a mistake of transcription in the MS.), but the censure itself is thus expressed,—“that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures”². In the *Leabhar Breacc* Pope Gregory is represented as stating his objection thus, “minus quam debuit Deus memorari in eo memoratus est.” But the Preface in Colgan's MS., or at least Colgan's translation of it, suggests a somewhat different sense; for Gregory, he says, “opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod author parcius in eo de Trinitate *disseruerit*, quam optaret”³. And again, in his version of the Preface to the Hymn now before us, he uses the same word, “quod parce *disseruerit* de sacrosancta Trinitate;” as if the objection was that the Hymn did not contain a sufficiently explicit declaration or exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity. But the meaning evidently is, that the author of the *Altus* did not celebrate *directly* the praises of the Almighty as such, but only His praises “in His creatures;” and the word *Trinity* is evidently used as equivalent to *Deus*, or the Deity, without any reference to the author's orthodoxy, or to his opinions on the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, which were not disputed.

It is remarkable that Colgan's version of the Preface to the following Hymn omits all notice of the curious statement made in the Irish Preface, now for the first time printed, that some doubted⁴ its genuineness, and that many were in the habit of reciting only lines 17-22 (or perhaps the meaning may be lines 17-25), as believing that portion of the Hymn only to be the genuine composition of St. Columcille.

In connexion with this doubt, it is remarkable that the Hymn plainly divides itself into two parts, the first of which ends (at line 16) with a doxology, exactly at the place where the genuine composition of St. Columba is said to begin,

¹ At length.—See Note A to the *Altus*, p.

220, sq.

² Creatures.—See p. 222.

³ Thus.—*Supra*, p. 224. The construction is “In eo memoratus est Deus, minus quam

debuit memorari.”

⁴ Optaret.—See p. 227.

⁵ Doubted.—The early record of such a doubt is a curious evidence of the antiquity of the Hymn.

and thus may seem to have been a distinct composition in itself. There is also this peculiarity, tending to the same conclusion, that in this first part the lines (with three exceptions) begin with the word *Deus*; whilst in the remainder of the Hymn every line (one excepted) begins with the word *Christus*.

Be this, however, as it may, it does not at first sight seem very clear how the Hymn can have been understood to have supplied the defect of the *Altus*, "quod parcius de Trinitate disseruerit;" for, with the exception of the Doxologies (lines 15, 16, and 26-29), there is no allusion in it to the Trinity as such, neither is there in it anything more express or distinct, considered as a confession of faith in the *doctrine* of the Trinity, than that contained in the first "Capitulum" of the *Altus*.

But we have seen that the objection to the *Altus* was, not that the author of the Hymn was unsound in faith, or in any way heterodox on the *doctrine* of the Trinity, but that in his Hymn he had not made the praise of the Trinity, i. e. of God Almighty, sufficiently prominent or direct; in other words, the real fault was, not that the *doctrine* of the Trinity was insufficiently acknowledged, but that the Hymn was mainly occupied in the praise of created things, or of God as Creator, and not so much in the direct praise of God in His essence and attributes.

In this point of view, the Hymn *In Te Christe* fully supplies the defect. It commences by a prayer to Christ as God, to have mercy on all the faithful. It prays to God to make haste to help all those who are in labour or distress. And then it proceeds to praise God, as the Father of the faithful; the Life of the living; the God of all gods; the Virtue of all virtues; the Creator of all things; the Judge of judges; the Prince of princes; the God of the elements; the God of good help; the God of the heavenly Jerusalem; the King of glory; the God of the quick; the God of eternal light; the ineffable God; the High God, worthy of all love, inestimable, bountiful, long suffering, teacher of the teachable; the God who maketh all things, whether new or old.

With this supplement to the *Altus*, it could not possibly have been objected that there was in it "a scanty praise of the Trinity *per se*," that is, of God Almighty as such.

The Hymn then takes up the praise of Christ:—He is the Redeemer of the Gentiles; the Lover of virgins; the Fountain of the wise; the Faith of believers; the Breastplate of soldiers; the Creator of all things; the Health of the living; the Life of the dying: He hath crowned our army with a crowd

of Martyrs; He hath ascended the cross; He hath saved the world; He hath redeemed us, and suffered for us; He hath descended into hell; He hath ascended into heaven; He hath sat down with God (*ubi nunquam defuerat*) on that throne which, as God, He had never left.

This summary of the Hymn strongly confirms the opinion already expressed, that the defect which it was supposed to supply in the *Altus* was not a theological defect in the confession of Trinitarian doctrine, but a deficiency in the *direct* praise of God and of Christ.

The language of the Hymn is evidently ancient. Among its peculiarities may be noted the use of the pluperfect for the perfect; "*Christus crucem ascenderat*;" "*mundum salvaverat*;" "*nos redemerat*;" "*cælum ascenderat*." "*Cum Deo sederat, ubi nunquam defuerat*." This peculiarity will be observed also in the writings of Adamnan.



IN TE CHRISTE. Columelle doppona inimmorra. Tre pithim doppona, re pillaba
 bec in cech tme. Acberac u^r papen conach e Columelle etin doppona [f] oca
 Chriſteur pedemptor 7 . . . chriſteur epucem, 7 ip aine ima acberac mulci illam
 partem. Locur hi, tempur Aleba meic annipech. Cauſa apala ac po
 nab con alcur, 7 iped on poinechpech Dreſoir im Columelle ope
 chup



te christe credentium miserearis omnium
 tu es deus in secula seculorum in gloria

deus in adiutorium intende laborantium
 ad dolorum remedium festina in auxilium

deus pater credentium deus uita uiuentium
 deus deorum omnium deus uirtus uirtutum

deus formator omnium deus et iudex iudicum
 deus et princeps principum elementorum omnium

deus opis eximie celestis hierusolimae
 deus rex regni in gloria deus ipse uiuentium

deus aeterni luminis deus inenarrabilis
 deus altus amabilis deus inestimabilis

1. *In te Christe*.—This Hymn has no gloss, except over the word *eximie* (ver. 9), where the gloss, although nearly illegible, appears to be .i. excelsa.

3. *Laborantium*.—Are these words alluded to in the preface to the *Altus*? see above, p. 221, note *.

6. *Virtutum*.—This anomaly is neces-

sary for the metre. C. reads, "Deus uirtutis uirtutum."

7. *Et iudex*.—C. omits *et* here and in the next line. But in both, *et* is necessary to the metre.

8. *Hierusolimae*.—Ierosolymæ, C.

11. *Inenarrabilis*.—This word is also used, line 91 of the preceding hymn.

DEUS largus longanimis deus doctor docibilis
deus qui facit omnia nova cuncta et uetera

DEI patris in nomine filique sui prospere 15
sancti spiritus utique recto uado itenere

CHRISTUS redemptor gentium christus amator uirginum
christus pons sapientium christus pides credentium

CHRISTUS lorica militum christus creator omnium 20
christus salus uiuentium et uita morientium

CORONAUIT exercitum nostrum cum turba martirum
christus crucem ascenderat christus mundum saluaue-
rat

CHRISTUS et nos redemeret christus pro nobis passus est
christus infernum penetrat christus caelum ascenderat

CHRISTUS cum deo seberat ubi nunquam defuerat 25

GLORIA haec est altissimo deo patri ingenuo
honor ac summo filio unico unigenito

SPIRITUIQUE optimo sancto perfecto seculo
amen fiat perpetua in sempiterna secula.

IN TE xpe cre.

13. *Doctor docibilis*.—Teacher of the teachable man.

15. *Filius*.—Filius, C.

16. *Itinere*.—Itinere, C. "I walk in the right way of God the Father, &c."

23. *Redemeret*.—Redemerat, C.

24. *Christus infernum*.—C. omits this line.

28. *Optimo*.—Optimo, C. *Sedulo*.—Amen, C.

29. *Perpetua*.—C. reads, "fiat et hæc perpetua, in sempiterna secula." At the end are added the words with which the hymn begins, according to the usual custom of Irish scribes, to show that the hymn ends here, and that the words that follow are no part of it. See above, p. 23, n., and see also p. 80, where the entire of the first verse of a Hymn is repeated at the end.

PROTEGAT NOS ALTIRIMUS DE RUIR SANCTIR FENIBUR 30
 OUM RIBI GMMOR CANIMUR DECIM PSTATUTIR UICIBUR
 SITQUE NOBIR PPOPTIRUIE DIEBUR ATQUE NOCTIBUR.

31. *Fmnos.*—Hymnos, C. *Decim.*—
 Decem, C.

The last stanza, *Protegat nos*, is in the angular character already frequently mentioned. In the margin is the following note:—beich epacha do chelebpab colum cille ut pepunc. 7 ipa ptaip eom cappion puc pom fein, "Columcille used to celebrate ten canonical hours, as they say; and it was from John Cassion's history he took this." No mention is made of this custom of observing ten canonical hours, in the lives of St. Columba; but the "John Cassion" here quoted is evidently the celebrated John Cassian, who was ordained deacon by St. Chrysostom (c. A.D. 404), and whose works on the monastic life and institutes were so widely read during the

middle ages. He was one of the first to propagate in the west, the eastern custom of fixed hours of prayer, afterwards called the canonical hours: *Instit.* lib. iii. c. 3. But it does not appear that *ten* such hours were enjoined by him. In the ancient church of Ireland, he was honoured as a saint on the 25th of November, at which day his name occurs in the *Felire*, or metrical calendar of *Ængus* the Culdee; but the more modern calendars of *Marianus* Gorman, of Tallaght, and of Donegal, make no mention of him; no doubt, in consequence of his having given currency to semipelagian opinions. On the Continent several churches were dedicated to him, and he was honoured as a saint in many places on the 23rd July. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. xiv. p. 187.

XVI. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "NOLI PATER."

COLGAN has printed two copies of this Hymn: the one in his Abridgment of O'Donnell's Life of Columba¹, the other from his copy of the Book of Hymns². The former of these seems to be an extract only, as it ends with "&c.," and omits the last two quatrains, besides other variations which will be pointed out in the notes. The latter copy Colgan himself describes as "paulo correctiorem, tametsi non plene correctum"³, which implies he did not consider his copy of the Book of Hymns as perfectly accurate, although "antiqua manu descriptus." How far the present edition is an improvement on the two former, will appear from the following pages.

The account given by O'Donnell of the occasion upon which this Hymn was composed is evidently taken from the Preface to it in the Book of Hymns; both accounts are substantially the same. The Editor will not enter into any discussion of the difficulty, which this narrative has suggested, as to the date of the donation of Daire Calcaigh (now Londonderry) to St. Columba by Aedh, son of Ainmire. This subject has been examined by Dr. Reeves, and the supposed difficulty completely removed⁴; it will, therefore, only be necessary to give here a translation of the Preface, with some illustrative notes:—

Noli Pater. Columcille composed this Hymn, as he did the *In Te Christe*. The place was the door of Disert Daire Chalcaigh⁵. The time was the same⁶, viz., that of Aedh, son of Ainmire. The cause was this:—Once upon a time Columcille came to Daire to a conference⁷

¹ *Columba*.—Trias. Thaum., p. 397.

² *Hymns*.—Ibid., p. 476.

³ *Correctum*.—Ibid., p. 450, note 47.

⁴ *Removed*.—Reeves, Adamnan, pp. 160, 161, note.

⁵ *Disert Daire Chalcaigh*.—For the nature

of the monastic establishments, called *Deserts*, see Reeves, Adamnan, p. 366.

⁶ *The same*.—i. e. the same as that in which the Hymn *In te Christe* was composed.

⁷ *Conference*.—"Aliquando venit ad colloquium [i. e. colloquium] regis."

with the king, so that he [the king] granted him the fort, with its appurtenances. But Columcille refused the fort, because Mobi¹ had prohibited him to receive anything of the world, until he had heard of his [Mobi's] death. But when Columcille afterwards came to the gate of the town², three³ of the people of Mobi met him there, and they had Mobi's girdle with them, and they said, "Mobi is dead." And Columcille said :

Mobi's girdle! [Mobi's girdle]!
It closed not upon emptiness,
Moreover, it opened not upon satiety,
Nor did it shut upon falsehood.

Columcille went back to the king, and he said to the king, "The offering which thou gavest to me yesterday, give to me now." "I will give it," said the king. The town was then burned,

¹ *Mobi*.—i. e. St. Mobi Clairenech, or the flat-faced, otherwise called Berchan, abbot of Glas-naoidhen (now Glasnevin, near Dublin), who was for a time the tutor of St. Columba (*O'Donnell*, lib. i., c. 43, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 396). Mobi having been compelled to close his school in consequence of the breaking out of a pestilence, St. Columba, with the other scholars, was sent away, and took his journey towards Tírconnell, having first received from Mobi this injunction, "Ne quam terram aut fundum pro exedificando monasterio aut aliis usibus acceptaret, nisi de ipsius scitu et venia."—*O'Donnell*, ib., c. 46. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160. The ancient quatrain quoted above, in praise of Mobi's girdle, occurs in a poem entitled, *Itinerarium na paimpe o Columcille in onoir cnepa Mobi*. "Itinerarium of the sea [i. e. verses to be recited on a journey on the sea], from Columkille, in honour of Mobi's girdle." An imperfect copy of this poem is preserved in the O'Clery MS. of Martyrologies, in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. The stanza with which we are concerned is given thus:—

Agro cniop Mobi,
nir bo reinnu imlo
nir norcúad fpi rdúe
'rniú mabán fpi go.

"This is Mobi's girdle; it was not a bulrush round emptiness; it was not opened upon satiety, and it was not shut upon falsehood. In the Martyrology of Donegal, at Oct. 12, the stanza is given thus:—

Cniop Mobi [cniop Mobi]
nibbar ríne imlo
nir norcúad na rdúe
nir hioabán imgo.

which differs from the former chiefly in spelling. The great difficulty is in the word *lun* or *lo*; in addition to the meaning given to it above, which seems to correspond best with the next line, it is interpreted in ancient glossaries .i. *uice*, *water*; and .i. *bpar beig*, *a red cloak*. In the same glossaries, *go* or *gwa* is explained *bneig*, *a lie*, *falsehood*.

² *Town*.—*bale*, "of the bally." The word does not mean what we would now call a *town*. "Town" is commonly used to this day in every part of Ireland, even by those who only speak English, to denote a place, a farm, a gentleman's demesne or property. There was no *town* (properly so called) at Derry, in St. Columba's time, but only a *dún*, or fort, the residence of a chieftain.

³ *Three*.—*O'Donnell* (*loc. cit.*, c. 48) says two. And so also the ancient Irish Life, quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160, note.

with everything that was in it. "This is foolish," said the king, "for if it were not burnt, there would never have been any lack of raiment or food therein." "There never shall be," said he [Columelle]; "from henceforth, whoever shall be in it, shall never be a night fasting." The fire, however, in consequence of its greatness, threatened to burn the whole *Daire*, so that it was to save it, at that time, that this Hymn was composed. Or it was the Day of Judgment he had in view; or the fire of the festival of John's. And it is sung [as a protection] against every fire, and every thunder-storm, from that time forth; and whosoever sings it at bed time, and at rising, it protects him against lightning, and it protects the nine persons whom he desires [to protect]."

Colgan's version of the Preface is as follows:—

Noli pater indulgere. S. Columba Kille composuit hunc Hymnum stylo rhythico ex tempore. In *Daire* Chalgach, seu Monasterio Dorensi, compositus fuit. Quidam dicunt, quod præ tremendi et extremi Judicii timore illum composuerit. Alii vero dicunt quod quando locum fundandi Monasterii, ab Ailo Ainmíri filio, Hibernie Rege donatum, receperat, tanquam prophanum curaverat flammis absumi, ut sic Deo consecraretur; et cum incendii flamma per ænenum vicinum lucum, seu arboretum, depascendum vento et tonitruis perlata pertingeret, hinc Hymnum hunc composuerit, ad lucum illum ab incendiis flammis præservandum. Duo privilegia recitantibus illum, pie creduntur a Domino concessa. Primum, quod præservet recitantes a fulminibus et tonitruis. Secundum, quod eos, qui consuecunt illum recitare vesperi, dum decumbunt, et mane quando surgunt, ab omni adversu casu protegat.

In the notes to the following Hymn, the various readings of the copy of it published in Colgan's version of O'Donnell's *Life of St. Columba* will be marked O'D.; and those of the copy printed by Colgan from his MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* will be distinguished by the letter C.

* *Daire*.—i. e. the whole wood; *Daire* is an oak wood. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 19, note*, and p. 160, note.

* *John*.—This is an allusion to the ancient custom of lighting fires on St. John's Eve. Paciaudius, in his learned work, *De cultu S. Johannis Baptiste*, Romæ, 1755, 4°, labours to defend this custom from the charge of a pagan origin, and derives it from our Lord's words (John, v. 35): "Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens: vos autem voluistis ad horam exultare in luce ejus." But the Capitula of Charlemagne (lib. v., tit. 2) condemn the St. John's Eve fires as remnants of paganism, under the old German term of *nodfeuers*.

Pertz, iii. 17, and compare Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. i., p. 570, *sq.* (2^d edit.: Göttingen, 1844).

* *The nine*.—This is obscure; a word at the end having been cut off by the binder. The meaning seems to be that the recitation of the Hymn will protect not only him who sings it, but any other nine persons whom he may desire so to serve. Colgan loosely renders the clause, "ab omni adverso casu protegat;" he probably took ἀνὸς to signify "persecution," but it seems to be a verb, and occurs *supra* p. 205, line 12. ἀνὸς occurs also as an adjective, meaning *nequam*.—*Zeuss*, p. 247, line 17.



NOLI PATER. Columelle fecit hunc qmum; eobem mobo ut In te Xpe. Locur do-
pur bupne dapi chalcas. Tempus autem .i. Aeba meo amnepech. Caura, co-
lumeille aliquanto uenit ob collocum pegir co daine co poebppab in port do
conapluub. Opori iapum columelle in port, quia pphibuit mobi imme accipere
muntum co clorub o ec.

Incan iapum conic columelle co dopur in bole, ip ann fin dopola epia do mumeip
mobfob, q opir mobf occu, q bixepune, inopcuup ere mobf; q bixie columelle:

Cpir mobf [cpir mobf]
ni po iabad imlua
rech ni po oploieceb pio pdich
ni pobunub imgua.

Lub columelle popclu corin pig, q bixie pegi: Inn ebpaie eucapiu dainpa imbuapue[h]
euc dam nunc. Dobepchap, ap in pf. Loipetep epd in boilo coponeoch bai anb
uile. Eppach fin, ol in pi, ap mani loipetche, ni biab eacha bpoie na biub ann co
brach. biab inoppo ann o feim immoch, ap re, met biop ann ni bio atech [leg. atochi]
epoipetche. Tarpmoie epa in tene apa met loicub in daine uile, conib opa and-
cul in can fin dopduub meimmonjo; no ip loche bracha dopac dia aipe; no tene
peile eom, q canaip fpi cech tenio q fpi cech coponn o feim ille, eipe gabar po
lizo q poepge, no nanaiz op ehentib ngellan q angib in nonbur ip ail [boanacal]. . . .



**OLI PATER INDULGERE CONITRUA CUM PULGURE
AC FRANGAMUR FORMIDINE HUIUS ATQUE URIDINE**

Te timemus terribilem nullum credentes similem
te cuncta canunt carmina angelorum per ag-
mina

GLoss.—1. *Indulgere*.—i. nos. 2. *Huius*.—i. toultrui. *Uridine*.—i. o eptorcut no o bute-
chup [from burning or from the yellow pestilence]. 3. *Similem*.—i. Deo. 4. *Canunt*.—i. laudant.

1. *Indulgere*.—Here used in the sense
of *permit* or *suffer*. It is doubtful whe-
ther the gloss over this word is not “in
nos,” or “super nos,” which would
make better sense than *nos*. “Suffer

not the thunder and lightning to fall
upon us.”

2. *Ac*.—Ne, O'D. and C. *Uridine*.—
Uredine, C.; O'D. reads *Viredine*, which
only can be the Irish spelling of *Uredine*,

Tequē exultent cūlmina cæli uagī per fulmina
o ihesu amantissime o rex regū rectissime 5

benedictus in secula recta regens regimina
iohannes coram domino abhuc matris in utero

Repletus dei gratia pro uino atque siccera

Elizabeth et zacharias uirum magnum genuit
iohannem baptizā precursorem domini 10

manet in meo corde dei amoris flamma
ut in argenti uase auri ponitur gemma.

Gloss.—5. *Exultent*.—i. paletuigie [welcome]. 7. *Benedictus*.—i. es. 8. *Johannes*.—i. gratia Dei interpretatur. 9. *Repletus*.—i. est. *Siccera*.—i. sine cera. .i. non omni liquori ebrio excep . . . omnia liquor dulcis sic. . . .

viz., uirpibine; the u suffering what German philologists call *umlaut*, from the e of the following syllable.—*Zeuss. Gram. Celt.*, p. 18; *Ebel, Beiträge*, i. 164. There is no such word as *Viredo*.

4. *Cuncta*.—Juxta, O'D.

5. *Exultent*.—Exaltent, O'D. C. *Fulmina*.—Fulmina, C.

8. *Matris in*.—In Matris, O'D.

9. *Siccera*.—Siccra, O'D. C. O'Donnell's extract ends here. See Colgan,

Trias Thaum., p. 397. The gloss upon this word runs out into the margin of the page, and is partly illegible.

10. *Zacharias*.—Elizabeth Zachariæ, C.

11. *Baptizā*.—Babtizam, C. The use of z for et in our MS. has already been noticed. See above, p. 78, n. 31.

13. *Argenti*.—Argenteo, C. *Auri*.—Aurea, C. These readings are inconsistent with the metre.

XVII. THE PRAYER OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

THE following document is called "epistola" in one place, and "ymnus" in another, by the author of the Scholium or Preface; but it is really a prayer; and is said to have been uttered by St. John the Evangelist over the poisoned cup, offered to him by the heathen priest of Ephesus.

The Legend in which this prayer occurs, and which is given at length in the Preface, has appeared in two several works, both putting forth pretensions to great antiquity, although now universally admitted to be spurious, viz.: the *Acta Apostolorum, sive Historia certaminis Apostolici*, attributed to Abdias, first Bishop of Babylon; and the *Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ*, ascribed to Mellitus, Bishop of Laodicea, or rather of Sardes.

The impostor who was the author of the former of these works calls himself a disciple of the Apostles, and professes to have been ordained first Bishop of Babylon by the Apostles themselves. He tells us also that he composed the work in the Hebrew language: that it was afterwards translated into Greek by his own disciple, Eutropius, and into Latin by Julius Africanus: "quæ Africanus Historiographus in Latinam transtulit linguam"¹. These are the words of the author himself, who, whilst he pretends to have been a contemporary of the apostles, has made the singular blunder of attributing the translation of his work into Latin, to Africanus, a writer of the *third century*²!

¹ *Linguam*.—Apost. Hist., lib. 6, fol. 83 (ed. by John Faber). Paris, 1571; 8°. And see the note of Fabricius on this passage.—*Cod. Apoc. N. Test.* II., p. 389, 629.

² *Third century*.—There are internal evidences that Latin was the original language of the book, and that the assertion of its having

been first written in Hebrew was a deliberate falsehood: for example, such plays upon words as "In nomine Domini mei Jesu impetrabam non imperabam" (lib. ix. c. 21); "non everti, sed converti eam" (lib. viii. c. 8), could scarcely have been the language of a translator.

But it is unnecessary for the object of the Editor to discuss the question of the genuineness of a work, whose pretensions have now no defenders¹. Its author cannot have lived before the fifth century; he has uniformly quoted the modern Vulgate, and appears to have also used the Latin version of the writings of Eusebius². There is good reason to believe, however, that the Venerable Bede had seen these "Acts of the Apostles," for he seems to refer to them under the title of "Histories of the Passions of the Apostles." If so, it will follow that the Pseudo-Abdias cannot have lived *later* than the beginning of the eighth century. The passage in the writings of Bede referred to is the following:—"Hos [Simonem scil. Zelotem, et Judam Jacobi] referunt Historiæ in quibus apostolorum passionibus continentur, et a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ, prædicasse in Perside, ibique a templorum pontificibus in civitate Suanir occisos, gloriosum subiisse martyrium"³. The Pseudo-Abdias relates the story of the martyrdom of SS. Simon and Jude, in the city of Suanir in Persia, in exact accordance with Bede's citation, which renders it probable that the "Historiæ in quibus Apostolorum passionibus continentur," referred to by him, was no other than the "Historia certaminis Apostolici" now extant, especially as we do not find elsewhere any mention of the city of Suanir⁴. If so, we see that, even at that time, the work was generally rejected as spurious, "a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ"⁵.

The "Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ" attributed to Mellitus, has still

¹ *Defenders*.—The authorities are collected in the *Testimonia et Censuræ* prefixed to the *Historia* of Abdias, by Joh. Alb. Fabricius, *Codex Apocr. N. Test.*, Hamburg, 1703, tom. ii. p. 388, sq.; see also Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. i. p. 488; Coci, *Censura*, p. 82, sq.; Baronii *Annal.*, A. D. 51, N^o. 51.

² *Eusebius*.—See Abdias, lib. vi. c. 4, and Fabricius, *ubi sup.*, p. 597, not. *. Fabricius has given the following negative opinion as to the age of this author: "Neque tantæ mihi videtur hoc scriptum antiquitatis, ut Hieronymis et Augustinus possit de ætate contendere. Nam ex veteribus nemo ejus meminit, et scribendi genus ipsum, et usus familiarior Vulgatæ ac versionum Rufini sequiorem ætatem arguunt."

³ *Martyrium*.—Bede, *Retract. in Act. Apost.* i. 13 (Opp. tom. xii., p. 90, ed. Giles.)

⁴ *Suanir*.—Abdias, *Hist. Apostol.*, lib. v. c. 20, sq. Fabricius says: "De civitate Persidis cui nomen Suanir, altum apud veteres silentium"—*Ubi sup.*, p. 744. Tillemont suggests that Suanir may be a city of the Suanî or Suranî, mentioned by Pliny. *Mém.*, t. i., p. 400.

⁵ *Apocryphæ*.—See Oudin. *De Scripturis Eccles.*, tom. ii. 418, sq., where the arguments against the genuineness of the work are stated. Oudin, however, fixes A. D. 910, as the date of the Pseudo-Abdias, not being aware that the book was known to Bede, and that, therefore, it must have been extant before A. D. 735, when Bede died.

less pretensions to antiquity. Eusebius¹ mentions an eminent saint and writer, Mellitus, or Melito, Bishop of Sardes in Lydia (A.D. 170), and gives an account of his numerous writings, none of which are now extant. It is probable, therefore, that the author of the Passion of St. John, under the name of Mellitus, intended to personate this Melito of Sardes, although he has styled himself² "Mellitus servus Christi Episcopus Laudociæ" (i. e. Laodiciæ); but in another Apocryphal book³, "*De transitu Mariæ*," which is generally supposed to be by the same author, he has called himself "Melito servus Christi et episcopus ecclesiæ Sardensis," intending, no doubt, the Melito of Sardes, mentioned by Eusebius, and from Eusebius, by S. Jerome⁴.

It is not easy to fix the precise date of this Pseudo-Melito, or Mellitus. The book, *De obitu [or transitu] beatæ Mariæ*, is twice referred to by the Ven. Bede (*Retract. in Actt.*, c. viii., xiii.), and in both cases with strong censure. That book, therefore, must be older than the eighth century; and so will fix the date of the "*Passio S. Johannis Evang.*," if we assume that both works, as both bearing the name of Mellitus, or Melito, are by the same author⁵.

The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup occurs in the *Apostolica Historia* of Abdias, and also in the *Passio S. Johannis* of Mellitus, in nearly the same words, and it is evident that one of these writers (if they be different) must have copied from the other, or both from some common source. This Legend is given in the Irish Preface to the following Prayer, with some variations from the narratives of Abdias and Mellitus, which will be pointed out in the Additional Notes, so far as they are of any importance.

There is a valuable (although not perfect) MS. of the Pseudo-Abdias in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (G. 4. 16) which is probably of the tenth or early part of the eleventh century. The story of St. John and the poisoned cup from the text of this MS. will be found in Note B, p. 272, *infra*.

In the artistic representations of St. John in the pictures and stained glass of the middle ages, he is frequently represented holding in his hand a cup, or

¹ Eusebius.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 26, who calls him *Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι παρούσης ἐκκλησίας*.

² Styled himself.—J. A. Fabricii, *ubi supra*, part iii., p. 604.

³ Book.—Fabricius. *Ibid.*, p. 623.

⁴ S. Jerome.—De Viris Illustribus, cap. 24.

⁵ Author.—Ceillier says (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. ii., p. 79), speaking of the tract, *De obitu B Mariæ*, "L'Auteur paroît être le même que celui du livre qui a pour titre : *La Passion de S. Jean l'Evangeliste* sous le nom de Mellitus, Evêque de Laodicée." See also Fabricius, *loc. cit.*

chalice, sometimes a serpent, sometimes a demon, is seen issuing from the chalice. These representations are evidently founded on the Legend with which we are concerned; the serpent, or demon, representing the flight of the deadly influence from the poisoned cup.

A translation of the Scholiast's preface will be found in Note A, p. 271, *infra*. It is to be regretted that some words in this preface, and particularly the passage with which it concludes, are now illegible in our MS.



DEUS MEUS. Iohannes filius Zebedei hanc epistolam fecit. In eferis bana doponab. inamfir imopio domiciani doponab; haec est causa .i. con[ci]m] m[er]i dopala et in eom q[ui] amfobim .i. facapit tempul beanae. Conepbapit eoin f[ra]tri amfobim, Tiagam a amfobim ol re, co tempul ep[iscop]i fil i[er]m cachpaz q[ui] actaz beain ann co caith in tempul, q[ui] p[er]a lecu iap[er]m co tempul beanae, q[ui] guibp[er]a ep[iscop]i copo tuice, q[ui] bia ceth tempul beane ep[iscop]i i[er]m p[er]p[er] ep[iscop]i ap beain, q[ui] i[er]p[er] ap ch[ri]p[er] buip[er]u abp[er] ep[iscop]i iap[er]m. Dencap iap[er]m ap amfobim. Locap p[er]p[er] co tempul ep[iscop]i, opauit amfobimur ep[iscop]i i[er]m beanam, et nec tamen cecitit templum ch[ri]p[er]i. Exierunt p[er]p[er]a ab templum beanae, et opauit iohannes ut ca- bepet et p[er]atim cecitit. Et amfobimur temp[er]auit occidere iohannem p[er]b non aurur ep[iscop]i p[ro] multitudine Ch[ri]p[er]ianorum. IN p[er]l n[on] p[er]olatu eumc[er]apit uat beop amfobim, ap eoin. Acta, ap re, bianebap[er]u l[an] calig de linn ueneno et n[on] n[on] ep[iscop]i m[er]p[er]u p[er]atim ep[iscop]i beo tuo: q[ui] dixit iohannes, d[omi]n[us] h[ab]e, tabi- tur, ap re, act co cap[er]u donacimbeab ap ep[iscop]i cap[er]u do map[er]b icon[us] p[er]z nunc, quia non melius est mori p[er]p[er]o quam ueneno, ut t[em]p[er]et iohannes dixit amfobimur hoc. et p[ri]mu[m] p[er]p[er]it can[is] uenenum et p[er]atim m[er]p[er]u ep[iscop]i, q[ui] p[er]p[er] ca- nem p[er]p[er]it p[er]mae, q[ui] illa p[ri]m[us] m[er]p[er]u ep[iscop]i, q[ui] p[er]p[er]a bat[er]u ep[iscop]i illi p[er]p[er]u, q[ui] m[er]p[er]u p[er]t[er]atim. q[ui] p[er]c[us]it bebit iohanni, q[ui] dixit iohannes tunc, beup m[er]p[er]u p[er]p[er]u, q[ui] bibit q[ui] non nocuit ei. q[ui] haec est causa d[omi]n[us] huius q[ui]m[us]. q[ui] p[er]p[er]it p[er]t[er]atim p[er]t[er]atim qui m[er]p[er]u p[er]p[er]it ueneno. q[ui] p[ro] ep[iscop]i bebit amfobimur, q[ui] alii multi cum eo. q[ui] p[er]i qui cantauerit hunc q[ui]m[us] in liq[uor]em aut in aliquib[us] quod p[er]p[er]u nocepe in p[er]atim [p[er]t[er]atim]. IN p[er]t[er]atim umurcuurque anni elegit[ur] de populo iuuenit p[er]t[er]atim p[er]t[er]atim macula peccati, ut con . . . ioh . . . q[ui] unger[ur] eu[er] ep[iscop]um . . .



DEUS meus et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus
cui omnia subiecta sunt et cui omnis crea-
tura deseruit et omnis potestas subiecta est
et metuit et expauescit et draco pugit et siluit

Gloss.—1. *Deus meus*.—Adit tu extingue. 2. *Cui*.—1. i[er]m buip[er]u [it is to thee]. *Omnia*.—
.i. elementa. 4. *Draco*.—Multa genera sunt draconum .i. terrestres. . . . sed omnes igne nocent.

1. *Deus meus*.—The gloss over these words signifies that the word *Deus* “goes to” *tu* *extingue*; i.e. that *Deus* is in apposition with *tu* (line 11), all between being a parenthesis.

4. *Draco*.—The gloss over this word, which is in Latin, runs out into the margin, and is partly obliterated. All that is legible of it is given above.

vipera et rubeta illa quae dicitur rana quieta torpes. 5
et scorpius extingitur regulus vincitur et spelagus nil

Gloss.—5. *Vipera*.—i. e. vi parens, i. dente nocet. *Quieta*.—i. antach i. blebml. 6. *Regulus*.—i. anela nocet. *Spelagus*.—i. uestigio nocet.

5. *Vipera*.—The etymology in the gloss, “vi parens,” is an allusion to the ancient popular opinion as to the parturition of the viper, which is thus described by Isidorus Hispalensis:—“*Vipera dicta, quod vi pariat. Nam, quum venter ejus ad partum ingemuerit, catuli non expectantes naturæ maturam solutionem corrosis ejus lateribus vi erumpunt cum matris interitu.*”—*Etymol.* lib. xii. cap. iv. n. 10. (*Opp.* tom. iv., p. 65. *Romæ*. 1801.) *Rana*.—“*Ex iis [ranis, &c.] quædam aquaticæ dicuntur, quædam palustres, quædam rubetæ, ob id quia in vepribus vivunt grandiores cunctarum.*”—*Isid. Hispal.*, *ibid.*, cap. vi. n. 58 (*Opp.* *ib.* p. 85). *Quieta*.—Over this word occurs the gloss in Irish, which is given above, and which, probably, may have been intended to explain *Draco*, although, for want of room, written under instead of over that word. But it may have been intended to explain *rana*, an animal then, perhaps, unknown in Ireland. The word *antach* occurs, p. 206, *supra* (line 10), as a gloss on the word “otiosa.” Mr. Curry thinks that it signifies here the *remora*, or *echinea*. *blebml* is a *whale*; *bleb*, a whale; “gl. pistrix; gl. bellua marina” (*Zeus*, p. 100); *ml*, a beast; Welsh, *mil*. So that the author of the gloss, having no idea of a frog or toad, imagined it to be a sea monster, a whale, or *remora*: an animal able to stop the progress of a ship at sea, by ad-

hering to the keel. In O'Davoren's glossary we have “*bleth* i. mil mór [a whale]; *blaid*, i. e. muir [the sea], ut est *blaidh-mil*” [a sea-beast]. Stokes, *Three Old-Irish Glossaries*, pp. 59, 61. *Torpescit*.—In the margin are these words: “*Coluber cinere, scorpius cauda . . . silius* [? *basilius*, or *sibilus*] ossibus post mortem nocet, serpens lingua [i. e. lingua] nocet.” These descriptions are not from Isidore, who says, however, “*Sibilus idem est qui regulus. Sibilo enim occidit, antequam mordet vel exurat.*”—*Etym.* xii., c. iv., n. 9.

6. *Regulus*.—Is the Latin equivalent for the Greek *Basiliscus*, and denotes the same serpent:—“*Basiliscus græce, latine interpretatur regulus, eo quod rex serpentum est, adeo ut eum videntes fugiant, quia olfactu suo eos necat; nam et hominem vel si aspicat interimit. Siquidem ad ejus aspectum nulla avis volans illæsa transit, sed quamvis procul sit, ejus ore combusta devoratur.*”—*Isid. Etym.*, xii., cap. iv. n. 6 (*Opp.* ut *supr.*, p. 64). This explains the gloss, “.i. anela [for *anhela*] nocet;” (*anhela* taken as a subst.), “by breathing hurts.” In the margin there is the following note:—“*Regulus, i. rex omnium serpentium, nulla avis uolans uiso eo potest eundem i. . . . peste. et tamen mustella cum occidit.*” This seems from Isidore, who adds, after the words above quoted, “*A mustella tamen vincitur:*

noxium operatur et omnia uenenata et adhuc perociora
 repentia et animalia noxia tenebrantur et omnes abuer-
 sac salutis humanae radices anescunt. tu extingue hoc ue-
 nenatum uirus. et extingue operationes eius mortíferas et 10
 uires quas in se habet euacua et da in conspectu tuo om-
 nibus his quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut au-
 deant, cor ut magnitudinem tuam intelligant, amen. ma-
 theus marcus lucas iohannes.

GLOSS.—10. *Operationes*.—1. ueneni.

quas illi homines inferunt cavernis, in
 quibus delitescit."—*Ibid.*, n. 7, p. 65.

6. *Spelagius*.—Pseudo-Melito and
 Pseudo-Abdias, as printed by Fabricius,
 both read *phalangius*; but the Dublin MS.
 of the latter has *sphalangius*: this is the
phalangium (φαλάγγιον) or venomous spi-
 der of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 27, *et alibi*;
 Vegetius, *De Re Vet.*, iii. 80 (al. 81), where
 some edd. have *sphalangis*. The gloss,
 "vestigio nocet," seems to intimate that

this spider insinuates his poison by merely
 crawling over the flesh.

12. *Audeant*.—This is only the Irish
 orthography of *e* for *i*; for *audiant*. See
 Reeves' *Adamnan*, *Pref.*, p. xvi., xvii.

13. *Matheus*.—This is a curious ex-
 ample of the ancient custom of invocating
 the names of the Evangelists, as a
 protection against evil: "Matthew, Mark,
 Luke, and John, Bless the bed that we
 lye on."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THIS Preface is written in the same mixture of Latin and Irish which we have already had occasion to notice in the other Prefaces. The following is a literal translation :—

Deus meus. John, son of Zebedee, composed this Epistle. In Ephesus it was composed. In the time of Domitian it was composed. This was the cause :—There was a great contest between John and Aristodemus, the priest of the Temple of Diana, so that John said to Aristodemus, "Let us go, O Aristodemus," said he, "to the Temple of Christ, which is in the city, and pray thou there to Diana that the Temple may fall, and I will go with thee afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and I will pray to Christ that it may fall; and if the Temple of Diana shall fall for me, then Christ is better than Diana, and it will be right for thee to worship Christ henceforth." "Let this be done," said Aristodemus. They went then to the Temple of Christ. Aristodemus* prayed for three hours to Diana; and, nevertheless, the Temple of Christ fell not. They went afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and John prayed that it might fall, and it fell immediately. And Aristodemus sought to kill John; but durst not, owing to the number of the Christians.

"Is there anything that would banish doubt from thee, O Aristodemus?" said John. "There is," said he; "if thou drink a full cup of ale [mixed] with poison, and if thou shalt not be dead, I will at once believe in thy God;" and John said, "Bring it hither, it shall be given," said he. "But let it be given to the prisoners, who are about to be put to death by the king now, for it is not better to die by the sword than by poison." Aristodemus said this that John might fear; and first he gave the poison to a dog†, and it died immediately; and after the dog he gave to an ape, and it died likewise; and afterwards the draught was given to them [i. e. to the prisoners], and they died immediately. And so he gave it to

* *Aristodemus.*—From this word to the end of the paragraph is in Latin.

† *Is there.*—The next words are Irish, to the word "*ale*," then Latin, to "it shall be given;" then Irish, to the words "to be put to death by the

king now;" the remainder is Latin.

‡ *To a dog.*—There is nothing about these experiments upon the dog and the ape in the original Legend, as given by the Pseudo-Abdias and Mellitus. See Add. Note B.

John; and John said then, *Deus meus, Pater, &c.*, and he drank, and it did him no hurt. And this is the cause of the composition^d of this hymn; and they who had died of the poison were raised, and so Aristodemus believed, and many others with him. And if any one shall sing this Hymn over drink, or anything that might prove injurious, it will restore him to health [or render it harmless.]

"At the end of every year there is elected out of the people a holy youth, without stain of sin, that"

The remaining words are illegible; a few letters here and there are visible, but the deficiency can only be supplied by conjecture. Dr. O'Donovan suggests, "ut tondetur in f [i. e. in feria] Johannis, et ungetur eius circum" or "ut tondetur cum episcopus Johanni et unges[?] eius circum" The name Mael-coin, which signifies "tonsured to John," or in honour of John (now anglicized *Malone*), is common in Ireland, and bears testimony to the ancient custom of tonsuring in honour of St. John.

NOTE B.

The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup.

The following is the Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup, as it is given in the "Historia certaminis Apostolici" of the Pseudo-Abdias. The text is taken from the ancient MS. of this work, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with the printed text of Abdias, as given by Fabricius, and also with that of the "Passio S. Johannis Evangeliste" by the Pseudo-Mellitus^e, as published by the same author: the readings of Abdias, in the edition of Fabricius, will be denoted by the letter A, those of Mellitus, by M.

The history of St. John is the fifth book of the work of Abdias, and the following story is the eighth section or chapter in the MS., the nineteenth in the edition of Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc. N. Test.* ii., p. 573). The "Passio S. Joannis Evangeliste," by Mellitus, was printed by Franciscus Maria Florentinus, *Martyrol. S. Hieronymi*, p. 130, and reprinted by Fabricius (*Op. cit.* iii., p. 604).

viii. Cum autem^f omnis ciuitas ephesiorum, immo omnis provincia asie iohannem excoleret^g et predicaret, accidit ut cultores idolorum, exitarent seditionem. Unde factum est ut iohannem traherent ad tem-

^d *Composition.*—Here the one word, *bénma*, "of making, or composition" [*nom. bénum*], is Irish, all the rest being Latin.

^e *Dublin.*—See above, p. 266.

^f *Mellitus.*—See p. 265-6, *supra*.

^g *Cum autem.*—A. reads "Dum hæc fierent apud Ephesum et omnes indies magis magisque Asie provincie Joannem et excolerent et predicarent, accidit," &c.

^h *Excoleret.*—Excolerent et predicarent, A. M.

plum diane, et urgerent eum ut ei foeditatem sacrificiorum offerret. Tunc¹ beatus iohannes ait; ducam² uos omnes ad ecclesiam domini ihu xpi: et inuocantes³ nomen eius, faciam cadere templum hoc, et comminui idolum uestrum. Quod cum⁴ factum fuerit, iustum uobis⁵ uideri debet: ut relicta superstitione eius rei, quæ a deo meo uicta est, et contracta: ad ipsum⁶ conuertamini; Ad hanc uocem conticuit populus⁷; et licet essent pauci qui contradicerent huic diffinitioni: pars tamen maxima ad sensum⁸ attribuit. Tunc beatus iohannes blandis alloquiis exhortabatur populum: ut a templo longe se facerent. Cumque uniuersi exteriore⁹ parte foris exissent, uoce clara omnibus¹⁰ dixit. Ut sciat omnis hæc turba quia idolum hoc diane uestræ¹¹ demonium est et non deus, corruat cum omnibus manu factis idolis, quæ coluntur in eo: ita ut¹² nullam in hominibus lesionem faciat. Continuo ad hanc uocem apostoli omnia simul cum templo suo idola ita corruerunt ut effluerentur sicut puluis quem proicit¹³ uentus a facie terre. Conuersi sunt¹⁴ eadem die duodecim millia gentilium exceptis paruulis et mulieribus et baptismatis¹⁵ sunt consecrati uirtute. Tunc aristodimus qui erat pontifex omnium¹⁶ idolorum repletus spiritu nequissimo excitauit seditionem in populo ita ut populus contra populum pararetur in bellum. Sed beatus iohannes ait; Dic mihi aristodime quid faciam tui tollam indignationem de animo tuo. Cui¹⁷ aristodimus dixit¹⁸. Si uis ut credam deo tuo dabo tibi uenenum bibere; quod cum biberis si non fueris mortuus apparebit uerum esse deum tuum. Cui sanctus apostolus ait¹⁹. Venenum si dederis mihi bibere inuocato nomine domini mei non poterit nocere me²⁰; Cui aristodimus²¹ ait; Prius est ut uideas²² bibentes et statim morientes ut uel sic possit cor tuum ab hoc poculo²³ formidare²⁴. Cui²⁵ beatus iohannes respondit. Iam dixi tibi tu paratus esto credere in dominum ihu xpm cum²⁶ me uideris post ueneni poculum sanum. Perrexit itaque aristodimus ad proconsulem: et petit ab eo duos uiros, qui pro suis erant acerbis decollandi²⁷; et statuens²⁸ eos in medio foro, coram omni²⁹ pepalo in

¹ Tunc.—Inter hæc, A.

² Ducam.—Ducamus omnes eos, A.

³ Ad.—In ecclesia Domini mei, M.

⁴ Et inuocantes.—Et inuocantes nomen Diane vestre facite cadere ecclesiam ejus, et consentiam vobis. Si autem hoc facere non potens, ego inuoco nomen Domini mei Jesu Christi, et faciam, &c., M. Et cum inuocaveritis, A.

⁵ Cum.—Ubi, A. Cum fuerit (omitting factum), M.

⁶ Vobis.—Nobis, A.

⁷ Ad ipsum.—Ad id ipsum, A.

⁸ Populus.—Omnis populus, M.

⁹ Ad sensum.—Consensum, A. M.

¹⁰ Exteriore.—Et Interiore, M.

¹¹ Omnibus.—Voce clara clamauit, A. Voce clara coram omnibus dixit, M.

¹² Festra.—Omit, M.

¹³ Ita ut.—Ita tamen ut, A.

¹⁴ Proicit.—Projecti, A.

¹⁵ Conuersi sunt.—Conuersi sunt antem eo die, M. Itaque conuersa sunt eadem die, A.

¹⁶ Baptismatis.—Et baptizati sunt consecrati vir-

tute, M. Et baptizati sunt a beato Joanne et virtute consecrati, A.

¹⁷ Omnium.—Omit, M. Quæ cum animadverteret Aristodemus, qui erat Pontifex omnium illorum idolorum, A.

¹⁸ Sed beatus . . . ait.—Ad quem conuersus Joannes, Dic mihi Aristodime (inquit), A.

¹⁹ Cui.—Omit, M.

²⁰ Dixit.—Omit, A.

²¹ Ait.—Cui apostolus ait, M. Respondit Apostolus, A.

²² Nocere me.—Nocere non poterit, A. Non poterit nocere mihi, M.

²³ Aristodimus.—Cui rursus Aristodemus, A.

²⁴ Ut uideas.—Volo ut prius uideas, A.

²⁵ Poculo.—Periculo, M.

²⁶ Formidare.—Abhorre, A.

²⁷ Cui.—Ad quem beatus Joannes, jam antea dixi tibi, quia paratus sum bibere ut credas, A.

²⁸ In dominum.—In Dominum meum, M.

²⁹ Cum.—Dum, M.

³⁰ Decollandi.—De quibus debebat ultimam supplicium sumi, A.

conspectu apostoli fecit eos bibere uenenum: qui mox ut biberent¹ spiritum exhalauerunt². Tunc dicit³ aristodimus Audi me⁴ iohannes: et⁵ aut recede ab ista doctrina qua deorum⁶ cultura reuocasti⁷ populum, aut accipe et bibe: ut ostendes⁸ omnipotentem esse deum tuum si postea quam liberas, poteris incolumia permanere. Tunc beatus iohannes iacentibus mortuis his qui uenenum libenter intrepidus⁹ et constans accepit calicem et signaculum crucis faciens in eo¹⁰ dixit. Deus meus¹¹ et pater domini mei¹² ihu xpe cuius uerbo caeli firmati sunt, cui omnia subiecta sunt, cui omnis creatura deseruit et omnis potestas subiecta est et metuit¹³ et expauescit. Cum¹⁴ nos te ad auxilium inuocamus, cuius auditio nomine serpens conquiescit. Draco fugit, silet niper, et rubeta illa que dicitur rana inquiet¹⁵ [sic] torpescit, scorpium¹⁶ extinguitur, regulus ulcitur, et sphalangius¹⁷ nihili noxium operatur, et¹⁸ omnia uenenata¹⁹ et adhuc ferociora repenti et animalia noxia te reuerentur²⁰ et omnes aduersæ salutis humanæ radiæ arescant. Tu²¹ extingue hoc uenenosum²² uirus, extingue operationes eius²³ mortiferas et uires quas in se habet euacua, et da²⁴ in conspecta tuo²⁵ omnibus his quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut audiant²⁶ et cor ut magnitudinem tuam intelligant, et cum hoc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit²⁷ signo crucis et bibit totum quod erat in calice et postea quam bibit dixit. Peto ut propter quos bibi conuertantur ad te domine et salutem quam²⁸ [sic] te est te in iuniam mentiantur. Attendente autem²⁹ populo iohannem per tres horas uultum habere hilarem et nulla penitus signa palioris aut trepidationis habentem clamare coeperunt³⁰. Vnus deus uerus est quem colit iohannes. Aristodimus autem³¹ nec sic credebat sed populos oburgabat eum; Ille autem conuersus

¹ *Et statuens.*—Quos cum statuisset, A.

² *Omit.*—Omit, M.

³ *In conspectu Apostoli.*—Omit, M. Aspiciente Apostolo, A.

⁴ *liberent.*—Qui mox biberunt, M. Qui mox ut biberant, A.

⁵ *Exhalauerunt.*—Exhalauerunt, M.

⁶ *Tunc dicit.*—Tunc dixit, M. Tunc conuersus ad Joannem Aristodemus: Audi me (inquit) et recede, A.

⁷ *Me.*—Omit, M.

⁸ *Et.*—Omit, M.

⁹ *Qua deorum.*—The MS. at first had *qua eorum*, but a later hand has inserted *d.* Qua a deorum, A. M.

¹⁰ *Reuocasti.*—Revocas, A.

¹¹ *Ostendes.*—Ostendas, A. M.

¹² *Intrepidus.*—Ut intrepidus, A.

¹³ *In eo.*—Omit, A.

¹⁴ *Deus meus.*—Deus meus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus cui omnia subiecta sunt, M.

¹⁵ *Mei.*—Nostri, A.

¹⁶ *Et metuit.*—Quem et metuit, A.

¹⁷ *Cum.*—Itaque, A.

¹⁸ *Inquieta.*—Inquieta, A. Quiescit, M.

¹⁹ *Scorpium.*—Et scorpium, M.

²⁰ *Sphalangius.*—Phalangius, A. M.

²¹ *Et.*—Denique, M.

²² *Venenata.*—Venena, A.

²³ *Reuerentur.*—This word is inserted over an erasure, by a hand of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The original reading of this MS. was probably *tenebrantur*, as in the *Liber Hymnorum* and M., or *terabrantur*, as in A.

²⁴ *Et omnes.*—This clause to "arescant" is omitted in A.

²⁵ *Tu.*—Tu inquam ille, A.

²⁶ *Venenosum.*—Venenum, M.

²⁷ *Ejus.*—Omit, M.

²⁸ *Et da.*—Omit, M.

²⁹ *Two.*—Omit, M.

³⁰ *Audiant.*—M. omits "aures ut audiant."

³¹ *Armavit.*—Et cum hoc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit, &c., A. Et cum dixisset totum semetipsum ornauit signo crucis, et bibit omne quod erat in calice, M.

³² *Quam.*—Que, A. M.

³³ *Autem.*—Omit, A. Attendentes autem populi, M.

³⁴ *Coeperunt.*—Voce magna coepit, A.

³⁵ *Autem.*—Tamen ne sic quidem credebat populo oburgante hunc, A.

ad iohannem dixit, inest^{*} mihi adhuc dubietas^{*}, sed si istos qui hoc veneno^{*} mortui sunt in nomine dei tui excitaveris emundabitur ab omni dubietate^{*} meus mea; Populi^{*} autem insurgent in aristodimum dicentes; incedimus et te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra apostolorum^{*} tuo sermone fatigare; Videns autem iohannes acerrime seditionem fieri petit silentium et^b omnibus audientibus ait; Prima est quam de virtutibus diuinis imitari^c debemus patientia, per quam ferre possumus incredulorum insipientiam; unde si adhuc aristodimus ab infidelitate tenetur, solvamus nodos infidelitatis eius et licet tarde faciamus^d eum agnoscere creatorem suum; Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere quo medella^e citius possit eius vulneribus provenire^f; et sicut medici habentes inter manus aegram medella^e indigentem, ita etiam nos si adhuc curatus non est^g de eo quod factum est; Et convocatus ad se aristodimum dedit ei tunicam suam, ipse vero pallio amictus coepit stare; Cui ait aristodimus ut quid dediti mihi tunicam tuam; Dicit ei iohannes; ut vel sic confusus a tua infidelitate credas^h; Cui aristodimus ait, et quomodo me tunica tua facietⁱ ab infidelitate recedere. Cui respondit apostolus. Unde et mitte eam super corpora defunctorum et dices ita; Apostolus domini mei^j ihu xpi misit me ut in eius nomine exurgatis ut cognoscant omnes^k quia vita et mors famulatur domino meo ihu xpo. Quod cum fecisset aristodimus et vidisset eos exurgere adorans iohannem festinus perrexit ad proconsulem, &c.

It is unnecessary to transcribe more of this story, as we have here all of it that is required for the illustration of our Irish Scholiast, proving that the Abidian or Mellitan Legends must have been the authority from which he derived his materials. It will be seen that the text of Mellitus agrees more nearly with that of the ancient Dublin MS. of Abdias than with the text printed by Fabricius; but that it is certain that they are in reality, so far as this Legend is concerned, the same, and not two different works.

^{*} *Inest*.—Deest mihi adhuc hoc unum, quod si istos, A.

^a *Dubietas*.—Dubitatio, M.

^b *Hoc veneno*.—Per hoc venenum, M.

^c *Dubietate*.—Incredulitas, M. Dubio, A.

^d *Populi*.—Quam cum dixisset, plebs insurgent in Aristodimum dicens, A.

^e *Apostolorum*.—Incedimus te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra Apostolum Dei in tuo sermone facere laborare, M. Incendimus te et domum tuam si pergas ulterius apostolorum sermonibus tuis fatigare, A.

^f *Et*.—M. omittit "petit silentium et."

^g *Imitari*.—Prima est de virtutibus Divinis quam videmur imitari patientiam, M.

^h *Faciamus*.—Faciamus tamen eum, M. Solvamus nodos infidelitatis eius. Cogetur, quantumvis sero, agnoscere, A.

ⁱ *Medella*.—Sic a prima manu; but the first *l* has been erased by a later hand. The same is the case wherever this word occurs.

^j *Provenire*.—Non enim cessabo hoc opere, quomodo ejus possit vulneribus provenire, M. Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere donec medela ejus possit vulneribus opitulari, A.

^k *Medella*.—Varia medela, M.

^l *Non est*.—Non est Aristodemus his quae facta modo sunt, curabitur illis quam jam faciam, A. Non est, ideoque quod factum non est aliud faciamus, M.

^m *Credas*.—This word has been altered by a more recent hand to *recedas* (as in A): the *e* being erased and *ce* inserted. Diacodas, M.

ⁿ *Faciet*.—Facit, M.

^o *Mei*.—Nostri, A. M.

^p *Omnes*.—Ut in nomine Dei ejus surgatis et cognoscant homines, &c., M.

There is nothing, however, either in Mellitus or in Abdias to correspond with the concluding paragraph of the Irish preface, where we read of a holy youth elected annually from the people of Ephesus, who (if our conjectural reading of the concluding very obscure words be correct) was to be tonsured in honour of St. John. The Editor has been unable to find anything like this in any other authority.

XVIII. THE EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO ABGARUS, KING OF EDESSA.

THIS celebrated Epistle, together with the Letter of Abgarus to Christ, to which it professes to be a reply, was first made known to the Church by Eusebius, the great ecclesiastical historian of the fourth century. He tells us expressly that he had them from the records of Edessa, the city of which Abgarus¹ was the "toparch" or governor; and that down to his own time the documents were preserved amongst the antiquarian monuments of Edessa. He states also that the original letters were written in Syriac, and that he had introduced them into his History, translated from the originals into Greek².

¹ *Abgarus*.—Written *Abagarus* by Rufinus, and in the supposed Decree of Gelasius. Eusebius and others spell the name *Agbarus*; and it is remarkable that (at least in Valerius's edition of Eusebius) the name is spelled *Agbarus*, everywhere except in the Epistles themselves, where we have *Abgarus*. Valerius prefers the former spelling, because the word *Abbar* in Arabic signifies *powerful, great* (Heb. גביר), and the name is said to have been common to all the reguli of Edessa, as Pharaoh to the Kings of Egypt. But in the Syriac Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus, the name is always *Abgar*, which Bernstein, in his Syriac Lexicon, derives from the Armenian *Avag-air* (primarius, insignis), an etymology much more probable, considering the geographical position of Edessa, than the derivation from Arabic. The idea of a correspondence between our Lord and Ab-

garus, may have been suggested by Matt. iv. 24,—“And his fame went through all Syria.”

But on the whole of this history, and on the name, see Theoph. Siegf. Bayer, *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena, ex numis illustrata*, lib. ii. p. 73, sq., lib. iii. p. 95.

² *Greek*.—The following are the words of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 13:—“Ἐχεις καὶ τούτων ἀνάγραφον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ῥόισσαν το τεχνικαῦτα βασιλευμένων πλὴν γραματοφυλακίων ληφθίσαν. ἐν γούν τοῖς αὐτοῖσι δημοσίαις χάριται, τοῖς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀββαρον πραχθέντα περιούχοι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνων φυλαγμένα εὖρηται. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον καὶ αὐτῶν ἱεροῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν ἀναλφθεῖσων, καὶ τὸνδε αὐτοῖς ῥηκασιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς μεταβληθεῖσων τὸν τρόπον. Then follows the Epistle itself.

It is unnecessary for the purposes of the present work to enter at length into the question of the authenticity or genuineness of the Epistles. That Eusebius believed¹ in them, and that they were received as genuine in the East for some time, are facts not to be doubted. But it is evident that neither St. Jerome nor St. Augustine had any faith in their authenticity. On the contrary, both those Fathers declare expressly that our blessed Lord left nothing of His own writing². They are not mentioned by St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, or any of the Fathers of the two centuries after Eusebius.

In modern times, however, eminent names are to be found on both sides of the controversy. Amongst the divines of the Church of England—Bishop Montague, Grabe, and Cave; amongst those of the Church of Rome—Baronius, Schelstraet, Tillmont, Assenian, and others, have advocated the genuineness, or probable genuineness, of the Epistles. On the other side are Bellarmin, Natalis Alexander, Erasmus, Melchior Canus, Simon, J. A. Fabricius, Ceillier, and many others³.

The Epistles are condemned in the celebrated Decree usually attributed to Pope Gelasius, and published in the collections of Councils as part of the Acts

¹ *Believed*.—See his *Ecc. Hist.*, ii. c. 1.

² *Of His own writing*.—So St. Jerome in *Ezek.* xlv. 29, 30. "Salvator nullam volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisque apocryphorum deliramenta confingunt, sed Patria et suo Spiritu quotidie loquitur in corde credentium." This testimony is the stronger, because it shows that he was aware of the existence of apocryphal writings attributed to our Lord. And so also St. Augustine, in a passage where he seems almost to allude to this very Epistle to Abgarus:—"Si enim prolatus fuerint aliquæ literæ, quæ nullo alio narrante ipsius Christi esse dicantur; unde fieri poterat ut si vere ipsius essent, non legerentur, non acciperentur, non præcipuo culmine auctoritatis eminere in ejus ecclesia, quæ ab ipso per apostolos, succedentibus sibi met episcopis, usque ad hæc tempora propagata dilatatur; etc."—*Contra Faustum*, lib.

xxviii. c. 4 (*Ed. Bened.*, tom. viii., 439); and this is indeed an argument against the genuineness of the Epistle which seems very difficult to answer.

³ *Many others*.—An excellent summary of the literature of the Epistles, with references to the authorities on both sides, will be found in the learned work of the Rev. Richard Gibbings, entitled "Roman Forgeries and Falsifications," although, how these Epistles came to be *Roman* forgeries, he does not explain. The reader will find almost everything in Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. Novi Test.*, tom. i., p. 316*, and in Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.*, tom. i., p. 474, sq.; add also Carpov. *Comment. Critica in libros N. Test.*, § xix. Lips. 1730; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i., p. 2, sq. (*Oxon.* 1740); and Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, ch. i. (Works by Dr. Kippis, vol. vi. p. 596.)

of a Synod¹ of seventy Bishops held at Rome, A. D. 494 or 496. Here we read, "Epistola Jesu ad Abagarum regem apocrypha. Epistola Abagari ad Jesum apocrypha."

From this it appears that if the Decree of Gelasius be a genuine Decree of that Pope, it was probably unknown, or at least not received², in the Church of Ireland, when the MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* was written. For the *Epistola Jesu* is manifestly assumed to be genuine, and was apparently read, as a Lesson, in the Irish Church in some office of public or private devotion. This, it need scarcely be observed, did not imply the reception of the Epistle as Canonical Scripture, but such use of it was clearly inconsistent with the Gelasian decree, where the condemnation of the document as *Apocryphal* must have signified a prohibition. When such eminent modern scholars, however,

¹ Synod.—Pagi gives 496 as the date of this Synod, *Crit. in Ann. Baronii*. There is, however, much doubt as to the antiquity of the Acts of this Council, and even as to the name of the Pope by whose Decree the Apocryphal books were condemned: some copies attributing it to Pope Damasus, others to Hormisdas, but the majority to Gelasius. Even the text of the Decree is unsettled, and has been largely interpolated.

² Abagari.—Some copies omit the words "Epistola Abgari ad Jesum apocrypha." This omission occurs in the *Decretum Gratiani*, Dist. xv c. 1; *Sancta Romana Ecclesia*; and in Ivo, *Liber Decret*: but in the Collections of the Councils both clauses will be found.

³ Received.—On the date and genuineness of the supposed Decree of Gelasius, see Bp. Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epistolæ S. Ignatii*, Part I., c. iv. p. 44 (4th, Cantabr. 1672), where the whole question is discussed. A good summary of the arguments against the Decree is given by Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, tom. i. p. 463 (*Oxon.* 1740), who says that it is not alluded to by any author before the year 840. Mr. Gibbings, however, has found a reference to

it in the *Opus Caroli Magni contra Synodum pro adorandis imaginibus*, written about 790. (*Roman Forg.*, p. 4.) Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.*, tom. xv., p. 630, sq.) admits that the Gelasian Decree must have been interpolated, although he inclines to believe it on the whole genuine, and says that it is cited under the title of *Gelasii Papæ de Libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, "dans une acte de l'Abbaye de saint Riquier en 432." This date, however, is a mistake, and ought to be 832. For the document referred to (which occurs in the *Chron. Centulense*, sire S. Richarii, lib. iii., cap. 3), is an inventory of the goods and chattels of the monastery, including its books, drawn up, as the author tells us, "Anno Incarnationis Domini DCCCXXXI. Indictione ix.," by order of the Emperor "Illudovicus" (i. e. Louis le Débonnaire), and in the eighteenth year of his reign: *Dacherii Spicil.* ii., p. 310 (fol. edit.). In this catalogue of the books of the monastery there occurs, under the heading *De Canonibus*, a copy of "Gelasii Papæ de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis." So that there is really no evidence that this celebrated Decree had any existence before the latter part of the eighth century. And it is

as Tillemont and Asseman, Cave and Grabe, have judged favourably, or hesitated, at least, to pronounce the Epistle a forgery, we may well excuse the Irish Churchmen, of an age eminently uncritical, for having adopted the *Epistola Jesu* without questioning the authority of Eusebius.

The following is a translation of the Preface or Scholium prefixed to the Hymn, which, as usual in this collection, is written partly in Irish, partly in Latin:—

Beatus es et reliqua. Christ himself wrote with His own hand this Epistle, as Eusebius relates in his History. And it was at Jerusalem it was written; in the time of Tiberius Cæsar it was written. And this was the cause [of writing it]; Abgarus, the Toparch, King of the land of Armenia, and of the land to the north of the River Euphrates, was in severe sickness in the city of Edessa, so that an epistle was brought from him to Christ, requesting that He would

remarkable that Pope Adrian I., in his letter to Charlemagne, in defence of the second Council of Nice against the objections of the Gallican bishops, assumes the truth of the story (which was assumed also in the Council), that our Lord had written to Abgarus, and quotes the authority of his predecessor, Pope Stephen, who (in answer to the objection, "Quod nulla evangelii lectio tradat Jesum ad Abagarum imaginem misisse") had said "Sed, nec illud est prætereundum, quod relatione fidelium de partibus orientis advenientium, sæpe cognovimus." In quibus licet evangelium silent, tamen nequam in omnibus incredibile fidei meritum: et hoc affirmante de ipso evangelista: *Multa quidem et alia signa fecit Jesus, quæ non sunt scripta in libro hoc.* Denique fortur ab asserentibus quod Redemptor humani generis, appropinquante die passionis, cuidam regi Edessense civitatis, desideranti corporaliter illam cernere, et ut persecutiones Judæorum fugeret ad illum convocare, ut auditis miraculorum opiniones, et sanitatum curationes illi et populo suo impertiret, respondisset: Quod si faciem meam corporaliter cernere cupis, en tibi vultus mei speciem transformatam in linteo dirigo: per quam et

desiderii tui fervorem refrigeres, et quod de me audisti impossibile nequamquam fieri existimes. Postquam tamen complevero ea quæ de me scripta sunt, dirigam tibi unum de discipulis meis, qui tibi et populo tuo sanitates impertiet et ad sublimitatem fidei vos perducet, &c." —Hardouin, *Concil.* tom. iv., p. 782. Here we have the authority of two Popes, sanctioning the Epistle with an interpolation which is not in the copy given by Eusebius, and which, we may observe, does not occur in the Irish Book of Hymns. But it is remarkable that this letter of Adrian to Charlemagne, which assumes the genuineness of our Lord's Epistle to Abgarus, was written (A. D. 792) in reply to that very *Opus Caroli magni*, of 790, in which the Decree of Gelasius, condemning the Epistles, was referred to. See Richard, *Analyse des Conciles*, tom. i., p. 739 (Paris, 1772. 4°). Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.* xviii. p. 230, 231. It is clear, therefore, that Pope Adrian I. cannot have regarded the Gelasian "Libellus" as genuine, for he passes it over in entire silence; and the same remark will apply to the second Council of Nice. There is, therefore, some confusion about this matter, which needs further research.

come to cure him: for he had heard that He was the Son of God, and that He had cured many. So that it was in praise of the faith of Abgarus, that Christ composed this Epistle. And this Epistle is in the city of Edessa.

In which city no heretic can live, no Jew, no worshipper of idols. Nor have barbarians ever been able to assail it, from the time when Evagarus, King of the said city, received the Epistle written by the Saviour's hand. In fine, a baptized infant, standing upon the gate and wall of the city, reads this Epistle. If ever a people should come against that city, on the day in which that Epistle, written by the hand of the Saviour, is read, those barbarians are brought to make peace, or are put to flight, routed.

The latter half of this Preface, from the words "In which city no heretic can live," &c., to the end, is in Latin; and is probably an extract from some ancient legend; in it the name of the king is written *Evagarus*, instead of *Abgarus*, which may indicate a different source. It is remarkable that no allusion is made to the miraculous image or picture of our Lord, so celebrated in the history of Edessa, although it is mentioned by Evagrius¹, whose Ecclesiastical History was compiled in the latter part of the sixth century.

This may be regarded as evidence that the Irish Preface was compiled from traditions of some antiquity. But, on the other hand, the privileges of Edessa, stated by our Scholiast as resulting from the possession of the autograph letter of our Lord, exhibit marks of more modern interpolation. Evagrius, indeed, mentions the general belief (*τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πιστοῖς θρυλούμενα*) that Edessa could never be taken by an enemy,—although he acknowledges that this was not said in the Epistle of Christ to Abgarus; but he seems to have known nothing of the belief that no Jew, or heretic, or infidel, could live in the city, or that a baptized child², standing on the walls of the city, was wont to read the Epistle, although

¹ *Evagrius*.—Hist. Eccles., lib. iv., c. 27. *Φίρονος τὴν Θεότοκον εἰκόνα ἦν ἀνθρώπων μὴ χίρις οὐκ ἐπύρασσαντο* Ἀγθάμῃ δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, ἰκεῖ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἐπέθεν, πίνομαι.

² *Child*.—John of Ypra, in his Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Bertin, gives the correspondence of our Lord with Abgarus (cap. 43, part. iii.), and adds: "Post ascensionem vero Domini Thaddæus apostolus ad Abagarum missus, ipse cum toto populo suo baptizavit, et eum a languore solo verbo curavit, juxta Christi promissum, civitatemque sic assecura-

vit, quod si quis adversarius ad illam laden-dam venisset, eives infantem super portam civitatis afferebant, et Salvatoris epistolam sibi porrigebant, qui licet alias fari nescius, epistolam prompte legit, et mox inimici recesserunt: quod quidem miraculum toto Abagari et longo post hoc tempore duravit."—*Joh. Iperii, Chron. S. Bertini* (apud Martene et Durand. *Thesaur. Novus Anecd.*, tom. iii., p. 642, A). John of Ypra died A. D. 1383. See also Gilo Parisiensis, *De expeditione Hierosol.*, lib. iii. (ibid. p. 231, A), who, speak-

otherwise unable to read, or even to speak, (for that seems to be the meaning,) or that a special blessing was attached to the reading or recitation of the Epistle.

The testimony of Evagrius, that no promise of perpetual security from hostile aggression was contained in the Epistle of Christ, did not prevent the interpolation of such a promise in subsequent editions of the Epistle: for example, in that given by Constantine Porphyrogenneta, in the *Narratio de Edessena Christi Imagine*, a promise is added at the end of the Epistle, that Edessa shall never be taken by its enemies; *καὶ τῇ πόλει σου γενήσεται τὸ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατισχύσαι αὐτῆς*. And yet the Epistle seems to have contained this clause, or some equivalent clause, in the age of St. Augustine: for the Count Darius, in a letter² in which (if its text be not interpolated) he asks Augustine for a copy of the *Confessions*, enforces his request by the example of Christ, who condescended to give a favourable reply to the petition of Abgarus, "preces supplicis non dedignaretur,"—and even granted more than He

ing of Edessa, and of the Epistle of Christ, says:

"Hæc ibi temporibus permansit epistola multis,
Atque ea ab adversa tutavit monia cunctis,
Nam si barbaricus furor illuc perveniebat,
Baptizatus eam puer alta ex arce legebat," etc.

¹ *Narratio*.—Published by Combesis, *Manipul. originum rerumq. C. politanarum*, p. 81, quoted by Fabricius, *ubi supr.*, p. 319.

² *Letter*.—Epist. 230 (Ed. Bened.), 263 (Ed. Lovan.). "Fertur satrapæ, seu regis potius ejusdam epistola," &c. This Epistle was unknown to Possidius, and appeared first in the Louvain edit. of St. Augustine's works. How far the allusion to the promise, which it distinctly states was made by our Lord to Edessa, "per epistolam," should militate against the genuineness of the letter, attributed to Darius, cannot be discussed here. It is certain, from the testimony of Evagrius, that at the end of the sixth century the "Epistola Jesu" contained no such promise; and the answer (Epi. 231), which seems not unworthy of St. Augustine, contains no allu-

sion to the use which Darius made of our Lord's supposed Letter to Abgarus; but simply says, "Misi et alios libros quos non petisti, ne hoc tantummodo facerem quod petisti." This suggests the suspicion that the argument from our Lord's condescension to Abgarus may have been introduced into the letter of Darius, by some later copyist. It occupies a section by itself, and its omission would make no perceptible hiatus in the Epistle.—Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi., p. 332) says that Darius spoke of the Letter of Abgarus, and of our Lord's reply, in such a manner as to show that he doubted the authenticity of both: "d'une manière qui fait voir qu'il doutoit de l'authenticité de l'une et de l'autre." This opinion seems to be founded upon the words *fertur*, and "Laudasse insuper suam dicitur civitatem." Baronius draws the opposite inference, that the Epistles were received as genuine: "Eas vero absque aliquâ dubitatione ab antiquioribus fuisse receptas, testatur epistola Darii comitis ad S. Augustinum scripta."—*Annal.*, A. D. 31, n. 60.

was asked,—by promising that the city of Abgarus should have perpetual security from its enemies—"et amplificato petitionis munere, per epistolam non modo salutem ut supplici, sed etiam securitatem ut regi, transmisit; *jussit insuper ejus urbem ab hostibus in perpetuum esse ac semper immunem.*"

All this tends to show that a belief in the authenticity of our Lord's correspondence with Abgarus was of great antiquity, and that legends founded upon that belief had begun to be invented at an early period. And the omission of all allusion to the Edessan image, or picture, in the Scholiast's preface, may be taken as evidence that the Irish Church had probably received the *Epistola Jesu* from a very ancient source; for this connexion of it with the picture of our Lord was one of the circumstances that gave celebrity to the Epistle, and caused it to be quoted against the iconoclasts in the second Council of Nicæa.

The Latin Version of the Epistle contained in the Irish Liber Hymnorum, and now published, appears to have been derived from the translation of Eusebius¹ by Rufinus; it has been collated with a printed copy of Rufinus without date, but published early in the sixteenth century under the title of "*Hystoria Ecclesiastica*," with the following colophon, "*Venundantur Parisiis a Francisco Regnault, in vico Sancti Jacobi sub signo divi Claudii.*" The readings of this copy are distinguished in the Notes by the letter R.

¹ *Eusebius*.—Since the foregoing remarks were written, the posthumous work of the late Rev. Dr. W. Cureton has appeared, entitled "*Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring countries.*" Amongst these "*Documents*" the Epistle to Abgarus is given from a very ancient Syriac version of

the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. The editor, Dr. William Wright, of the British Museum, states in his Preface, that Dr. Cureton was a believer in the authenticity of the Abgaran Epistles; and his name must therefore be added to the list of those divines of the Church of England who have held that opinion.



DECATUS ES 711. Crip̄t̄ p̄m̄ p̄p̄r̄s̄ cona laim̄ in̄n̄ep̄r̄c̄il[r]e, amal̄ ab̄r̄eē C̄urebiur̄ in̄n̄ar̄c̄ar̄p̄. In̄ h̄ier̄usal̄em̄ u^o p̄p̄r̄c̄ib̄ab̄. in̄ t̄emp̄ore C̄iber̄n̄i c̄err̄ar̄ip̄ r̄er̄ip̄r̄a er̄e. C̄aur̄a u^o h̄ec̄ er̄t̄, Ab̄gar̄ur̄ c̄op̄ar̄ca p̄l̄ ēp̄re ar̄men̄iaē 7 na ēp̄re p̄ri p̄r̄uth̄ neop̄r̄it̄ act̄ual̄it̄, nob̄ai in̄galur̄ t̄r̄um̄ in̄ C̄ip̄ra ciuit̄ate c̄ot̄uec̄ab̄ ep̄r̄c̄il̄ uab̄ eo C̄rip̄t̄ co t̄r̄ab̄ d̄iaf̄e, ap̄ act̄hual̄a c̄op̄ bo m̄ace D̄ē h̄ē. 7 c̄onf̄eat̄ rochar̄e. C̄on̄it̄ ap̄ m̄olab̄ ip̄re Ab̄gar̄e d̄op̄ona C̄rip̄t̄ in̄n̄ep̄r̄c̄il̄re. Āea t̄ra in̄n̄ep̄r̄c̄il̄ r̄e in̄C̄ip̄ra ciuit̄ate. IN̄ qua ciuit̄ate nullur̄ h̄ep̄et̄ic̄ur̄ pot̄er̄t̄ uiuere, nullur̄ iubeur̄, nullur̄ id̄olur̄um̄ cult̄or̄. Sed̄ neque bar̄bar̄i aliqūando eam̄ in̄uabepe pot̄uer̄unt̄, ex̄ eo t̄emp̄ore quo C̄uaḡar̄ur̄ p̄x̄ eiur̄dem̄ ciuit̄at̄ip̄ ac̄cep̄it̄ ep̄r̄c̄olam̄ manū r̄aluac̄or̄ip̄ r̄er̄ip̄r̄ati. h̄ane ben̄ique ep̄r̄c̄olam̄ leḡit̄ in̄f̄an̄t̄ bapt̄iz̄ac̄ur̄ r̄eant̄ r̄up̄er̄ p̄p̄r̄eam̄ et̄ mur̄um̄ ciuit̄at̄ip̄. 7i q̄uando ḡen̄t̄ uener̄it̄ c̄on̄tra ciuit̄atem̄ illam̄, in̄ eob̄em̄ die quo l̄ec̄ta f̄uer̄it̄ ep̄r̄c̄ola manū r̄aluac̄or̄ip̄ r̄er̄ip̄r̄a plac̄ant̄ur̄ illi bar̄bar̄i auc̄ r̄uz̄ant̄ur̄ in̄p̄r̄mat̄i.



DECATUS es qui me non uidisti et credidisti in me. scriptum est enim de me, quia hi qui uident me non credent. et qui me non uident ipsi in me credent et uiuent. de eo hautem quod scripsisti mihi ut uenirem ad te. oportet me omnia

- GLOSS.—1. Qui.—i. ab̄gar̄e. 2. Scriptum est.—i. in̄ ēssaia p̄f̄et̄a. De me.—i. de christo. Hi.—i. iudei. Uident.—i. corpore. 3. Credent.—i. spiritu. Et qui.—i. gentes. Non uident.—i. corporaliter. 4. Credent.—i. spiritualiter. Uident.—i. in̄ p̄r̄p̄et̄um̄. De eo.—i. sub̄intelliḡe r̄es̄p̄on̄deo, uel̄ d̄ico. 5. Scripsisti.—i. in̄ tuā ep̄istola. Ad te.—i. ad̄ ed̄iss̄am̄. Oportet.—i. h̄ec̄ t̄es̄ r̄es̄p̄on̄sio i. op̄ortet̄ me fac̄ere om̄nia [qūa] p̄m̄issa s̄unt̄ de me a p̄f̄et̄is.

1. In me.—Qui credidisti in me cum me ipse non uideris, R.

2. Scriptum est.—Is. vi. 9, Matt. xiii. 13.

3. Credent.—Quia hi qui me uident non credent in me, R. This is generally supposed to be an allusion to S. John, xx. 29; but Fabricius thinks Is. vi. 9, and lii. 15, much more probably the passages referred to. Cod. Apoc. N. T., p. 318. This is confirmed by the gloss, i. in ēssaia p̄f̄et̄a. Ipsi in me.—Et qui non uident me ipsi credent et uiuent, R.

4. Scripsisti.—The Epistle of Abgarus, as given by Eusebius, contained an invitation to our Lord to take refuge in Edessa from the persecution of the Jews; adding that the city, although small, was beautiful, and would be sufficient for both:—*καὶ γὰρ ἡκουσα ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσι σοι καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαι σε. πόλιν δὲ μικροτάτη μοι ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσμὴν, ἥτις ἐξαρκεῖ ἀμφοτέροισιν.*—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 13.

5. Venirem.—Veniam, R.

propter quæ misus sum hic explere. posteaquam compleu-
ero recipi me ad eum a quo misus sum. cum ergo puero
asumptus mittam tibi aliquem ex discipulis meis qui curet
egritudinem tuam et uitam tibi atque his qui tecum sunt
prestat.

10

Domine Domine defende nos a malis et κυρτοι nos in bonis ut
pimur filii tui hic et in futuro, Amen. Saluator omnium
Chirite peppice in nos iheru et miperere nobis.

Gloss.—6. *Hic*.—i. in iudea vel in hierusalem, vel in hoc mundo. 7. *Compleuero*.—i. leges et profes-
tias. 7. *Recipi me*.—i. in ascensionem. *Ad eum*.—i. ad patrem. *Missus*.—i. in humanitate, i. ad sal-
uandum mundum. 8. *Asumptus*.—i. a patre in celum. *Mittam*.—i. ad te. *Tibi*.—i. abgare. *Ali-
quem*.—i. tatheum. *Discipula*.—i. ex apostolis. 9. *Tuam*.—i. abgare. *Uitam*.—i. perennem et doc-
trinam et sanitatem. *Tecum sunt*.—i. in fide christiana.

6. *Posteaquam*.—Et posteaquam imple-
uero, R.

7. *Ad eum*.—Ab eo, R. *Missus*.—The
S. Isidore MS. reads *Missus*.

8. *Aliquem*.—The gloss says i. *tatheum*.
So the name Thaddæus is given in Ruffin's
translation of Eusebius: in the original
(*loc. cit.*) he is called Θαδδαῖον τὸν ἀπό-
στολον ἑνα τῶν ἐβδόμηκοντα. This cannot
mean that Thaddæus, one of the 70, was
also one of the Twelve Apostles, and Eu-
sebius, therefore, must have called him an
apostle in a secondary sense, as having been
the Apostle of Edessa. He expressly dis-
tinguishes him from the Twelve Apostles,
but says that others were called Apostles,
lib. i. c. 12. See Tillemont, *Mémoires*,
tom. i., p. 360, and note 5, p. 613. St.
Jerome (*in S. Matth.* c. x. 4) fell into
the mistake of confounding this Thaddæus
with the Apostle of the same name; and
others have been led into the same error.
Bede corrects it, *Retract.* in *Acta Apost.*,
c. x. It is probable that the author of the
gloss followed Jerome, when he interprets
"ex discipulis" by "ex apostolis." The

Hymn of St. Cummain Fota, line 23 (see
above, p. 77), also follows Jerome. The
Menology of the Greek Church identi-
fies Thaddæus of Edessa with the Apostle
Jude, or Thaddæus, the brother of our
Lord: καὶ πρὸς Ἀνταρχον τοπάρχην πορευ-
θεὶς ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου.—
Men. Græc. ad 19 Jun. *Qui curet*.—Ut
curet, R. Ut qui curat, S. Isidore MS.

9. *Egritudinem*.—Abgarus in his Epistle
had asked our Lord to come and heal him:
"et egritudinem meam, qua jamdiu la-
boro, curare."

10. *Prestet*.—The S. Isidore MS. adds
here, "Salvus erit sicut scriptum est qui
credit in me salvus erit."

Domine, Domine.—The prayers which
follow are in the angular character already
frequently spoken of. They seem to show
that this Letter to Abgarus was read in the
ancient Irish Church as a Lesson in some
office. In the upper margin of the MS.
there are some sentences, which do not ap-
pear to have had any connexion with the
text. They have been greatly mutilated

Euangelium domini nostri ihesu christi liberet nos, protegat nos, custodiat nos, defendat nos, ab omni malo, ab omni periculo, ab omni langore, ab omni dolore, ab omni plaga, ab omni iniuria, ab omnibus iniquis diaboli et malorum hominum hic et in futuro. Amen.

by the plough of the binder. The following words are all that are now legible:—"custodis . . . nostram sicut de anima christiana dicitur. Omnis caro fenum est, et reliqua" [Is. xl. 6]. "Sed gloria eius filie regis ab intus, nam extrinsecus maledicta et per . . . ntioncs et detractiones permittuntur de quibus tamen in celis merces aeterna est quæ sentitur in corde patientium eorum qui iam possunt ut dicitur . . . glori . . . in tribulationibus. Hic illa maledictio beatitudinem creat." The word *Hic* is a contraction for *Hieronymus*; the passage alluded to occurs in S. Jerome's Comment. on S. Matt. v. 11, "Illud maledictum contemnendum est quod beatitudinem creat, quod falso maledicentis ore profertur."

After the foregoing sheets had been worked off, the writer had the privilege of visiting Rome, and was kindly permitted to collate the Donegal copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* in the Convent of S. Isidore, which is undoubtedly the MS. quoted by Colgan, and of which a full account will be found in the Appendix to this Fasciculus.

This MS. gives the concluding prayers or collects, after the Epistle, thus:—

"Domine, Domine, defende nos a malis et custodi nos in bonis, ut simus filii tui hic et in futuro, qui regnas in secula seculorum.

"Evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi liberet nos, protegat nos, custodiat nos, visitet nos, defendat nos, ab omni malo, ab omni plaga, ab omni langore, ab omni dolore, ab omni perturbatione, ab omni periculo, ab omni invidia, ab omnibus insidiis diaboli et malorum hominum hic et in futuro."

The Irish Preface to the Epistle of Christ in the S. Isidore MS. is as follows: it is in some places illegible. The Editor has marked by dots the passages which he has been unable to decipher:—

beatu ep. ihu xpi fecit hanc epistolam. Dia paba rex etorae emicatur qui dolorem pebor habuit. Cotuebat epistil uob co epist conbigrat dia acallam ocur diat. Ocur ue . . . tacheur ipm epistil topm iaceppat epist. Ocur ipse . . . me. Ocur acat in ebor m epistil 7 corop cap mbia co buib opbab. Ocur 3 nachnepe tceba bich pape [rel pape] nuope ipm tpm.

Which may be thus translated:

Beatus es. JESUS CHRIST made this epistle: for there was a king of the city of Edessa, who had a malady in the foot: and a letter was brought from him to Christ, requesting that He would come to converse with and heal him. And Thaddeus . . . the epistle unto him after the crucifixion of Christ. And it was he . . . and they are in Edessa . . . the epistle was, and . . . and . . .

XIX. THE HYMN OF ST. FIACC, IN PRAISE OF ST. PATRICK.

THIS Hymn was first printed by Colgan. He gives it in his *Trias Thaumaturga* under the title of "Hymnus, seu Vita Prima S. Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli, S. Fieco Episcopo Sleptensi Autore,"—it having been regarded by him as the earliest of the seven Lives of St. Patrick which he had collected; although it was evidently never intended by its author as a "Life" properly so called, but only a Poetical Panegyric upon the Saint.

Colgan has published it in the original Irish, with a Latin translation in parallel columns; and, although subsequent editors have not scrupled to criticise and alter his translation, none of them has pretended to correct his text from any MS. authority, or suggested anything better than conjectural, and sometimes ignorant, emendations.

There is, therefore, in reality no existing printed text of this Hymn of any authority, except that published by Colgan, which was taken from his copy of the Book of Hymns¹ now preserved at the Franciscan College of S. Isidore, in Roue. Dr. O'Connor's edition² does not profess to have been collated with any other MS. of the original, and is, in fact, only a reprint of Colgan's text. The same remark will apply to the only other printed copy which has appeared with any pretensions to editorial scholarship, viz., that published by Henry Leo (*Halis Saxonum*, 1845), on the occasion of a declaration of successful competitors for Prizes "in certamine literario," proposed in honour of the birth day of Frederick William IV., King of Prussia. This work (which does not appear to have obtained a prize) is

¹ *Hymns*.—"Exstat in pervetusto codice opusculorum aliquot sanctorum Hiberniæ (qui Liber Hymnorum inscribitur) ex quo ipsum desumpsimus."—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 6.

² *Edition*.—*Rev. Hib. Scriptt. Prolegom.*,

part i., p. 88, sq. O'Connor entitles this Hymn "Carminen vetus Hibernicum, quod Fieco, &c., tribuitur, . . . ex Codice vetustissimo Dungalense." The MS. at S. Isidore's is entitled in a hand of the seventeenth century, "Ex li.

entitled "Commentatio de Carmine vetusto Hibernico in S. Patricii laudem." It consists of a minute analysis of the original text, with a translation, in which the author does not display any exact acquaintance either with Irish grammar or with Irish history.

The other editions and attempted translations of the Hymn, which have appeared in this country, add nothing to the illustration of it, philologically or historically, and do not require any detailed notice. They are all taken

bris de conventus [*sic*] de Dunnagall." This is on the lower margin of p. 3.

¹ *Notice*.—The following is a list of all these editions with which the editor is acquainted:—

1. Vallancey, in the first edition of his *Irish Grammar* (*Dublin*, 4^o, 1773), has printed this Hymn (p. 166 sq.) with Colgan's Latin Translation. O'Reilly, in his account of Irish writers (*Trans. Ibero-Celtic Soc.*, p. xxxiii), says that this Hymn was printed "in the first edition of Vallancey's *Irish Grammar*, with a faulty English translation." But this English translation is not to be found in the copies of the first edition of Vallancey's Grammar which are now preserved in the public libraries of Dublin, nor has the Editor ever seen it; and there is reason to suspect that the sheets which contained it were cancelled by the author (after its errors were discovered), to make room for Colgan's Latin version. In the second edition of the Grammar, printed in 8vo, Vallancey has omitted Fiacc's Hymn altogether.

2. Mr. Patrick Lynch, in the Appendix to his *Life of St. Patrick* (*Dublin*, 1810, 8^o), p. 328, has printed this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation of his own, and Colgan's Latin Version. Mr. O'Reilly (*loc. cit.*) calls this "a correct English translation;" but it is very far from being so.

3. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Coyle, a Roman Catholic bishop in Ireland, in a work called "The Pious Miscellany" (*Dublin*, 1831, 12^o), of which the first vol. only was published, has printed St.

Fiacc's Hymn, in the original Irish, with a loose metrical English version (p. 46, sq.).

4. Mr. Martin A. O'Brennan, "LL. D., Member of the Honorable Society of Queen's Inns," has published this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation and copious notes, in vol. 1., p. 484, of a work, the first volume of which is entitled, "O'Brennan's Antiquities," and the second, "A School History of Ireland, from the Days of Partholan to the Present Day." *Dublin*, 8^o (*sine anno*). The dedication of the second edition of vol. 1., "To his Grace the Most Rev. John Mac Hale," is dated "April, 1848."

5. O'Reilly (*ubi supra*) states that in 1792 [1791] this Hymn was published by Richard Plunket, "a neglected genius of the county Meath, who, in pages opposite to the original text, gave a version into modern Irish." This is an exceedingly rare tract, 8vo. pp. 32. The first page is blank; then follow two titles, one in English and the other Irish, on opposite pages. The English title is this: "An Hymn on the Life of St. Patrick: extracted, from the antient Scytho-Celtic dialect, into Modern Irish, by Richard Plunket, late Translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now the Manuscript in his possession. *Dublin*. Printed in the year M,DCC,XCI." The Irish title is: "Himhin Phardruig Absdal. Do cumadh re Feiche Easbug Shleibhte, a gcondae na Banrioghna, disciobal agas fear comhainsire do Padraig fein. Air na mhineadh go deighneach san nughghaoi-

from Colgan's Text and Version; some with arbitrary alterations of the original, and translations which, so far as they differ from Colgan's, may be described as the offspring, for the most part, of presumptuous ignorance.

In the ancient Scholium, or Preface, prefixed to this Hymn, Fiacc¹ of Slebte, or Slebhte, is unhesitatingly pronounced to be its author. This ecclesiastic, who was honoured as a saint in the Irish Church on the 12th of October, was descended from Cathair Mór (*Cathirius Magnus*, as O'Flaherty² Latinizes the name), who became monarch of Ireland, A. D. 174, and was killed in the battle of Tailte⁴ (now Teltown, in Meath), A. D. 177. Fiacc's descent from this king of Ireland may be gathered from the Scholium or Preface to the Hymn as printed by Colgan, thus:

Cathair Mór,
|
Daire Barrach,
|
Bregan.
|
Erc.
|
Fiacc, of Slebhte.

dhilig, *He RIOSTARD PLUNCEAD*. A mbeulatheliath an na chur a gelo san mblíadhan m.dcc.xci." Then follows the Hymn in the ancient Irish, as given by Colgan, with a translation on the opposite page into the modern Irish of the peasantry, ending on p. 11. On pp. 12 and 13 are an English and Irish title to S. Brogan's Life of S. Bridget, with the Hymn in Colgan's text, and a translation into vulgar Irish as before, to p. 25. Page 26 is blank; and p. 27 is a title-page: "Short Directions for reading Irish, intended for those who can speak and understand the language. By Richard Plunket, late translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now that manuscript in his possession. Dublin: Printed in the year m.dcc.xci." This ends on p. 31, and p. 32 contains a list of Richard Plunket's works, in nine articles.

¹ *Fiacc*.—His name is written by Colgan *Fiecus*, and by Lanigan, Petrie, and others, *Fiech*. It has been so written in the early

pages of this work. In the Book of Armagh the name is written *Feec*, *Fiacc*, and *Feccus*. The final e is never aspirated. Colgan has made this remark (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 7, col. 2, not. 2). In the Life of St. Patrick by Probus (*lib. i. c. 41*; Colgan, p. 51), St. Fiacc is called *Phiegh*, or *Pheg*, as Ussher more correctly gives the name in quoting this passage, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 410, *Eltrington's edit.* Although the name is written *Fiac* in the Book of Lecan and some other ancient authorities, the true spelling is *Fiacc*, which is the same as *Fing*. The Welsh equivalent is *Gweyeh*.

² *October*.—His name occurs at this date (together with those of his son Fiachra, and Mabi Clairenech of Glasnevin) in the ancient *Felire*, or *Festilogium*, of Aengus the Culdee, a composition of the ninth century. See also Mart. of Donegal, p. 273.

³ *O'Flaherty*.—*Ogyg.*, Part iii. c. 59, p. 310. Conf. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 22, note.

⁴ *Tailte*.—See *Leabhar na g Ceart*, or Book

Daire Barrach was the ancestor of the tribe of Ui Bairrche¹ (or "Descendants of Barrach"), the chieftain of which clan assumed the name of Mac Gorman in later times, after the introduction of surnames: and the church of Sléibte now Slatey, or Sletty, is situated in the Queen's County, about two miles N. N. W. of the town of Carlow, in the midst of the country then inhabited by the tribe² just mentioned.

The Dublin Book of Hymns adds another generation, if we have rightly interpreted the words "*In Fiacc sin mē éside mē Ercha, mē Bregain*," to signify that this Fiacc was the son of the son of Erc, son of Bregan, or Brecaun. But even with this addition, the foregoing genealogy is manifestly inconsistent with the age usually assigned to St. Fiacc. The narrative which makes him to have been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, assumes that he must have been of mature age, about A. D. 448³, or upwards of 270 years after the death of Cathair Mór, if we adopt the chronology of O'Flaherty, and 326 years, if we are guided by the Four Masters. This is altogether too long a period for the number of generations which the above genealogy has placed between Fiacc and his royal ancestor; and necessarily leads to the conclusion, either that some intermediate generations have been omitted, or that the reign of Cathair Mór is antedated in our annals: for the only remaining alternative, that St. Fiacc lived before the age of St. Patrick, is manifestly untenable.

The supposition of an error in the number of the generations is rendered probable by the discrepancy in at least one of the names in the genealogy as it is given in the Preface to this Poem in the Dublin Book of Hymns, and as it is found in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, or *Sanctilogium Genealogicum* (as Colgan calls it), in the Book of Lecan. In the Dublin Book of Hymns, the son of Daire Barrach is named Bregan; in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, he is named Fiacc, or Fiacc; and that these were in reality two, and not the same individual⁴,

of Rights, p. 205. The Four Masters give as the site of this battle Magh hAgha, which is probably a place near Tuillte. They have the reign of Cathair Mór A. D. 120-122. The dates A. D. 174-177 are O'Flaherty's.

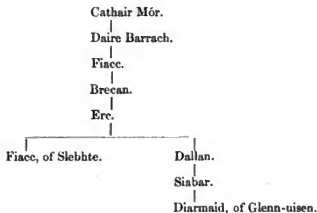
¹ *Ui Bairrche*.—See *Leabhar na gCeart*, or *Book of Rights*, and Dr. O'Donovan's notes, p. 192, sq. Eithnea, the mother of St. Columba, was also of the Ui Bairrche.—Reeves, *Adamnan*, pp. 8, 163, notes.

² *Tribe*.—This district was called *Omargy*, the Anglicized pronunciation of *Ui mBairrche*, signifying the country of the Ui Bairrche, or Descendants of Barrach. *Sléibte* signifies "mountainous."

³ *About A. D. 448*.—This is the date assigned by Ussher to the ordination of St. Fiacc. *Index Chron.* (Works, tom. vi., p. 571, Elington's ed.).

⁴ *Individual*.—Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 8, n. 4.

is evident from the genealogy of St. Diarmaid (or Modimog, as he was sometimes called), of Glenn-uisen¹, who was of the same family, and whose descent from Cathair Mór is given² in eight generations inclusive, in which we have Fiacc, son of Daire Barrach, and Breacan, or Bregan, the son of Fiacc, so that we have thus an approximation to a more correct genealogy, showing the relationship of both saints, as follows:—



It may be observed also that the same authority gives two distinct genealogies of St. Fiacc, in one of which his father is called *Erc*³—gen. *Erca* (as in the *Book of Hymus*), and in the other his father is *Erchad*⁴—gen. *Erchada*, son of Erc. Assuming that a generation was here again omitted (an error that would be facilitated by the similarity of the names), Fiacc will appear in the seventh generation from Cathair Mór, inclusive: thus,—

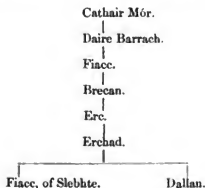
¹ *Glenn-uisen*.—Now Killeshia, in the Queen's County, near Carlow: not Glen or Glin in the King's County, as Archdall conjectures.—See *Four Mast.* at A.D. 842, and Dr. O'Donovan's note.

² *Given*.—Sanctilog. Geneal. Book of Lecan, fol. 49 b., col. 1. It is remarkable that in another copy of the genealogy of St. Diarmaid, given in the same tract (fol. 53 b., col. 4) the names of Erc and Breacan or Bregan are omitted: thus, "Diarmaid, i.e. Modimog of Glenn-uisen, s. of Siabarr; s. of Dallan; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór." Here two generations of the for-

mer line are wanting. This proves that errors existed in the pedigrees of this race; and we know that omissions of this kind are frequent in all genealogies.

³ *Erc*.—B. of Lecan, fol. 54, b. col. 2, thus: "Fiacc of Sleibte, s. of Erc; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór."

⁴ *Erchad*.—Ibid., fol. 48, a. col. 4, thus: "Fiacc of Sleibhte, s. of Erchad; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire; s. of Cathair." It will be observed, however, that in both these genealogies Breacan is omitted, as if he was considered to be the same as Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach.



This confirms our interpretation of the genealogy as given in the Dublin Book of Hymns, which makes Fiacc the grandson of Erc, or son of Mac Erca. There is reason, however, to suspect a further error. For in the genealogies of the families descended from Daire Barrach, as given in the Book of Lecan¹, there is the following statement :—

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Ir o mac Erca .i. Fiacc mac Dara Erpoc plebte. | | It is from Mac Erca that Fiacc, son of Dara, bishop of Slebhite, [descends]. |
|---|--|---|

This seems to say that Fiacc was the son of Dara, and descended from Mac Erca, or Erc's son. Here we have one additional generation, supposing Dara to have been the son of Erchad Mac Erca; but it is quite as probable that two or more generations may have intervened; for in the Book of Leinster² where there is an entry corresponding to the above, Fiacc is said to have been the son of the son of Dara :—

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Ir ó mac meic Erca .i. Fiacc erpoc Slebte .i. mac meic Dara. | | It is from the son of the son of Erc, i. e. Fiacc, bishop of Slebte, i. e. son of the son of Dara. |
|---|--|---|

Discrepancies of this kind, which manifestly exist in these records, prove that the chronological difficulty of the genealogy may be altogether the result of errors in the transcription³. We may therefore assume that St. Fiacc, of

¹ *Book of Lecan*.—Fol. 97 a., col. 1.

² *Book of Leinster*.—Fol. 219 a. See also *Book of Ballymote*, fol. 73 b.

³ *Transcription*.—The same considerations will enable us to correct the genealogy of St. Ethnea, mother of St. Columba (see Reeves'

Adannan, p. 8), which is also too short for the chronology, she being sixth in descent from the same Mac Erca, who was the grandfather or great-grandfather of St. Fiacc. But her genealogy, as given in the *Sanct. Geneal.* and also in the *Felire of Aengus* (at June 9),

Slebhite, according to the legend recorded in the preface to the following Hymn, may have been descended from Cathair Mór perhaps in the ninth or tenth generation, and therefore a contemporary of St. Patrick. The date assigned by Ussher to St. Fiacc's ordination is, as we have already said, 448. At that time he must have been about thirty years of age; for although we cannot, perhaps, argue that he could not in Ireland have been canonically consecrated a bishop if under that age, it is most probable that his son Fiachra had been born before Fiacc was admitted to holy orders: and he himself must therefore have been of mature age at that time. Assuming these premises, the year 418 will be about the year of his birth; and if he survived St. Patrick, whose death is generally dated 493, he may have lived to be about the age of 80 or 90. In this there is nothing improbable or actually incredible; and there remain no grounds for disturbing the Chronological place assigned to Fiacc of Slebhite, in the traditions of the Irish Church, as a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick.

We must now examine the question of the authenticity of the Hymn. Can it be regarded as a composition of this remote antiquity? Is it possible to receive it as the work of the St. Fiacc who was consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick?

The celebrated Jesuit, Father Daniel Papebroch¹, one of the Bollandist collectors of the great *Acta Sanctorum*, has refused it a place in his collection of the Lives of St. Patrick, because he considered it impossible², from internal

omits all mention of Mac Erca, owing, no doubt, to the same similarity of names which has occasioned the confusion in the case of St. Fiacc. If St. Columba was born A.D. 521 (Reeves, *ibid.*, p. lxix), the birth of his mother cannot have been much before A.D. 500, or 323 years after the death of Cathair Mór. It is curious that Dr. Reeves (*ibid.*, p. 164, n.), when he adopted the common genealogy, which makes St. Fiacc fourth in descent from Daire Barrach, did not perceive the chronological difficulty; and yet he assumes the early date A.D. 120 of the reign of Cathair Mór (p. 8, note), by which that difficulty is increased.

¹ Papebroch.—The *Comment. Præe.* on the Life of St. Patrick in the *Acta SS.* of the Bollandists is anonymous; but Father Byesus, in his Life of St. Fiacc, says expressly that Daniel Papebroch was the author—a name of high authority.—*Act. SS.* Oct., tom. vi. *De S. Fiaco. Comm. præe.* num. 3 (p. 97, C).

² Impossible.—His words are: "Hymnum autem jam dictum libenter nos quoque hic daremus: sed fatemur ingenuè vereri nos ne non ipsius Fiaci sit, ejus saltem qui primus Sleptis a S. Patricio est constitutus episcopus."—*Act. SS. Martii*, tom. ii. p. 520 A. But the Hymn is ancient, and ought to have been given.

evidence, that the Hymn could really have been written by a contemporary of St. Patrick; and this decision has been endorsed by a later Bollandist, Cornelius Byeus, the learned compiler of the *Life of St. Fiace*, at the 12th of October¹.

The arguments adduced by these authors, against the great antiquity attributed to this Hymn, are as follows:—

First,—It can scarcely be supposed that a contemporary of St. Patrick could have written the first line of the Hymn, “Patrick was born at Nemthur, as has been related in *histories*.” This reference to *histories* implies such an interval in time between the author of the Hymn and the age of St. Patrick, as would make the name of his birth-place, and the actions of his life, matter of history: “vix inducimur” (says Papebroch) “ut Patricianas vitas statim a morte scriptas intelligamus, eo nomine”².

Colgan appears to have felt this difficulty, although he does not state it in express terms; but he anticipates it by his note on the passage, where he admits that the words, “as is recorded in histories,” imply the existence of “Acts” of St. Patrick before the composition of the Hymn; he argues, however, that this creates no difficulty, because Jocelin (writing about 1185) mentions four lives of the saint written during his lifetime by his contemporaries and disciples³, St. Loman, St. Mel, St. Bencan, or Benignus, and St. Patrick, junior.

Another passage in which “histories” are alluded to, is ver. 12, where the author says that St. Patrick read the Canons with St. German, “as histories relate,” ‘*sicut testantur historie*’ (for so Colgan correctly⁴ translates the words).

In reply to these objections, Mr. Patrick Lynch⁵, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, suggests that our author never quotes *histories*, except when he has occasion to record those events of St. Patrick’s life which had taken place in foreign

¹ *October*.—Actt. SS. Oct., tom. vi. p. 103.

² *Nomine*.—Actt. SS. Martii, tom. ii. p. 520.

³ *Disciples*.—Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 6, not. 3. “*Ut in historiis refertur*, c. 1. Indicat acta Patricii esse ante se scripta, et recte: quia quatuor alii discipuli ipsius S. Patricii, nempe S. Lomanus, S. Mel, S. Benignus, et S. Patricius junior scripserunt acta Patricii ante, ut testatur Jocelin, c. 186, vivente etiam adhuc ipso Patricio.”

⁴ *Correctly*.—The old word *līne*, or *līni* is rightly translated “*historiæ*” by Colgan. Lynch, without any authority, reads *līnne*, the plural of *lan* [which ought to be *lann*], with us; and Dr. O’Conor tells us that *līne* is *ecclesie*. He translates, “*Eet ita testantur ecclesie*.” *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, tom. i.; *Proleg.*, part. i. p. xci. But the plural of *lann*, a church, would be *lanna*, not *līne*.

⁵ *Lynch*.—*Life of St. Patrick*, p. 327.

countries, before Fiacc became known to his master. In the first line he refers to *histories* (péceta), to establish St. Patrick's birth-place; in the twelfth line, as translated by Colgan, he cites *histories* (lín) to prove St. Patrick's residence in the islands of the Tyrrhene, or Mediterranean Sea, and his ecclesiastical education under St. German.

It should be observed that the word *recl* (ver. 1), translated by Colgan history, denotes any story, tale, or narrative, handed down by tradition, written or unwritten, true or false. But the other word *lín* (*linea*) (ver. 12) seems to imply writing; and the fact remains that the author of this Hymn has referred to extant tales, or stories, traditions, and writings, as authority for certain facts in the Life and Acts of St. Patrick; the improbability therefore continues in all its force that such narratives (whether they recorded the acts of the saint abroad or at home) could have been circulated, so as to have been well known and quoted by a contemporary of the saint, in the manner in which our author cites them. It might be thought that Fiacc's own testimony, if he had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, would have been better than the testimony of any tales and stories, acts or lives, for such facts as the place of the Saint's birth, or his early travels and education. It is impossible to believe that a contemporary, who had been himself acquainted with his hero, could have referred to any tales, stories, traditions, or histories, written or unwritten, in confirmation of his statements.

Secondly,—Father Papebroch objects that it is difficult to believe how an author, who had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, could have introduced into his poem so many legends manifestly fabulous¹.

It is curious that Dr. Lanigan gives an opposite judgment. He says, "In the former," meaning Fiacc's Hymn, "which, as already observed, has a claim to very high antiquity, the narrative runs smooth and regular; nor do we find in it any of those ridiculous miracles that disgrace some of the later Lives"².

¹ *Fabulous*.—"Vix inducimur ut . . . intelligamus . . . tam familiarem ipsi sancto poetam tam multa fabulam redolentia huic suo carmini inseruisse."—*Actt. SS. Mart.*, tom. ii., 520 B.

² *Lives*.—*Ecel. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 80 (2nd edit.). Lanigan, however, does not maintain that this hymn was written by the Fiacc

who was a contemporary of St. Patrick; for in another place (to which he refers in the words above quoted) he says: "The Bollandists and some other judicious critics doubt of his (Fiacc's) being the author of it. But it does not follow that it is not very ancient, and most probably not later than the seventh, or perhaps the sixth century."—*Ibid.*, p. 57, 8.

Nevertheless, the following miracles are mentioned in the Hymn:—The permanent impression of the angel's feet on a rock (ver. 8); apparitions of angels summoning St. Patrick to return to Ireland (ver. 14); the voices of the children in Connaught, heard by him in a distant country, calling upon him to come to their aid (ver. 16); the prophecies of his coming by the druids of Ireland (ver. 19-22); his extraordinary austerities, singing 100 psalms every night, standing in a well, and sleeping upon the hard stone, covered only with his wet garments (ver. 26-32); healing the blind and lepers, and bringing the dead to life (ver. 34); the burning bush in which the angel appeared to him, and foretold the supremacy of Armagh, and the privileges granted to the recitation of St. Sechnall's hymn (ver. 48-52); the sun standing still, in imitation of the miracle of Joshua (ver. 55-60); &c. These miracles, however, it may be said, are many of them imitations of miracles recorded in Scripture; they are such miracles as were, in that age, naturally attributed to the saint, and easily believed to have been performed by him, even among his immediate disciples; and, as Dr. Lanigan justly observes, they are not of the same "ridiculous" character¹, as some of the miracles which "disgrace the later lives."

We may, therefore, reasonably doubt whether this argument of the learned Bollandist is conclusive; for it is certain that miracles, quite as incredible as these, have at all times, down to our own "enlightened" age, been attributed to individuals eminent for sanctity, even by those who were their companions and personal acquaintances: so that the insertion of such marvels in the biography of a saint is not of itself an absolute proof that the author lived at a period long subsequent to the age of his hero. Dr. Lanigan's argument is more sound—that the comparatively moderate character of these miracles, as contrasted with the extravagant marvels of the later lives, must be regarded as an evidence of the higher antiquity of this Hymn, even though we may hesitate to admit that it was written by a contemporary of St. Patrick.

¹ *Ridiculous character*.—For example, his lighting a fire with icicles instead of sticks; *Jocet*, c. 5; the water congealing in a kettle, notwithstanding the fire heaped around it, *ib.*, c. 20; his stone super-altar floating on the sea, and carrying a leper after the ship, c. 27; the same altar following him through the air, c. 55; the kid bleating from the stomach of the man who had stolen and eaten it, and

afterwards restored to its owner uninjured, &c. &c. Papebroch has rejected a great many of these miracles, and thrown them into his Appendix to the *Acta S. Patricii* (tom. ii. Martii, § III., p. 584). "In qua" (as *Bgeus* says) "una cum sequâ juxta ac acri, qua ibidem, § III., perstringuntur, censurâ, innoxie legi possent." *Act. SS. Oct.*, tom. vi. (ad 12 Oct., p. 98, E.).

Thirdly. The apparent allusions to the desolation of Tara (ver. 20 and 44), an event¹ which did not take place until after the year 560, is evidence that the Hymn could not have been written before the latter half of the sixth century.

If, therefore, St. Fiacc, of Slebhite, was the author, he must have lived to an age considerably beyond the ordinary term of human life. We are reduced to the necessity of attributing this Hymn to a writer, who must have flourished at the latter end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, unless we are prepared to admit that St. Fiacc died at the advanced age of nearly a century and a half; or else to adopt the alternative, which Colgan prefers, of believing the allusion to the desolation of Tara to be a really inspired prediction² of that event.

Fourthly,—To these arguments it may be added that the author lived after the Hymn of St. Sechnall had become popular, and its use, as a *Lorica*, or protection against spiritual dangers to those who recited it, had been recognised; and also after the story of Patrick having obtained the privilege of being himself the Judge of the Irish at the Day of Judgment was invented³. This is evident from lines 51, 52, where the angel, who appeared to him in the bush, is introduced as announcing that his petitions were granted :

He [the angel] said, Primacy shall be at Armagh; give thanks to Christ.

To heaven shalt thou come, thy prayers are granted to thee:

The Hymn thou hast chosen in thy lifetime shall be a corslet of protection to every one :

Around thee, in the day of judgment, the men of Erin shall come to judgment.

¹ *Event*.—See the authorities for the cursing of Tara by St. Ruadan, or Rodan, of Lorrha, collected by Dr. Petrie, *Hist. and Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 125 (*Transact. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xviii., part 2).

² *Prediction*.—Papebroch says: "Qui [sc. Colganus] ne amittat auctorem, aut ipsum plus equo annosum faciat, ista hymni verba in quibus de Temorie desolatione, post annum DLX factâ, agitur, prophetico spiritu dicta tanquam de re futurâ mavult credere; nobis autem explicatione tam violentâ auget formidinem prædictam" [formidinem, sc. ne non ipsius Fieci sit]. Colgan's words are as

follows:—"Observandum quod hic dicit S. Fiecus de desertâ vel deserendâ Temoriâ, certum propheticumque fuisse oraculum; vel si suo tempore vidit Temoriam desertam ipsum produxisse vitam usque ad annum 540" [*leg.* 560]; "quod mihi non probatur, cum fuerit florentis ætatis sub adventu Patricii anno 432, &c." *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 6, not. 16. But the allusions to the desolation of Tara are evidently references to an event past, and do not pretend to be predictions of the future.

³ *Invented*.—See above, p. 22, note. It will be observed that nothing of this sort is to be found in the Hymn of St. Sechnall.

We have here manifestly the germ of the legend given more fully by Probus¹, or the author of the fifth life in Colgan's Collection; and there exists what is, perhaps, a still more ancient summary of the privileges of St. Patrick, in Tirechan's Annotations on the saint's life, compiled in the seventh century, and preserved in the Book of Armagh.²

It is scarcely credible that legends of this character could have been current so soon after the death of St. Patrick as to be adopted by a contemporary and disciple; and it is probable that the enumeration of these privileges by Tirechan is an earlier form of the legend than that given in the Hymn by our author. For Tirechan makes no mention of the apparition of the angel in the bush, nor of St. Patrick's being appointed the Judge of the Irish. It is evident also, from the above-cited stanzas, that the Hymn before us must have been written after the question of the Primacy of Armagh had become a subject of debate; and it is not likely that this could have been the case in the lifetime of a contemporary of St. Patrick.

It is remarkable that some of the collections in the Book of Armagh, relating to the Life of Patrick (which are probably the originals from which the biography, attributed to Probus, and other similar works, were compiled) are attributed in that MS. to "Muirchu Maccumachtheni;" who, it is expressly said, wrote them at the dictation of a bishop of Slebhite, "dictante Aiduo Slebtiensis civitat̃is episcopo". From this it may perhaps be inferred that

¹ *Probus*.—Lib. ii., c. 33.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 60.

² *Armagh*.—See above, p. 50 (where Tirechan's words are quoted); and Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 68.

Episcopo.—Lib. Ardmacn., fol. 20, b., a. See Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 110 (Trans. Royal Irish Acad., vol. xviii., part ii.) Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. The Aidus, Bishop of Slebhite, here mentioned was, in all probability, the same whose death, under the name of "Aodh, anchorite of Slebhite," is recorded by the Four Mast. A. D. 698: where see O'Donovan's notes. If so, Muirchu Maccumachtheni must be regarded as an author of the seventh century. The Annals of

Ulster record the death of Aedh, at 699, in these words: *Quies Aedo anachorite o Sleibtiu*. Tighearnach has the same words at A. D. 700. Dr. Reeves has given a curious extract from the Book of Armagh, showing the zeal of this Aedh bishop of Sletty for the church of Armagh; *Adannan*, Additional Notes, p. 323, n. 4. This, taken in connexion with the passages of the hymn above cited, advocating the primacy of Armagh, is an additional evidence that the Hymn belongs to the times of Bp. Aedh (A. D. 700), rather than to those of Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick. The genealogy of Aedh has been preserved. He was of the same family as St. Fiacc; and it is remarkable that his pedigree is defective

St. Fiacc had left to the safe keeping of his successors in that see some valuable historical collections, or traditions relating to St. Patrick; these are, very probably, the "*histories*" referred to by the author of the Hymn now before us, and it is not unlikely that the Hymn itself (having been compiled from the traditions of the church of Slebhite, derived from Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick), came to be attributed to Fiacc himself as its author.

Fifthly,—One of the most plausible arguments for the antiquity of the Hymn is derived from the antiquity of the Scholiast, or author of the Preface and notes, who, Colgan maintains, must have flourished before the close of the sixth century. The testimony, therefore, of so early an author, who asserts, without hesitation, that the hymn was composed by St. Fiacc, of Slebhite, must necessarily be received with respect.

Colgan's reason for assigning so early a date to the Scholiast is this: The Preface states expressly that St. Fiacc, having been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, was soon afterwards made "Archbishop of Leinster"—*archiepiscopus largen*—and that his successors continued to enjoy that dignity ever since.

These words imply, says Colgan¹, that the successors of St. Fiacc continued to hold the archiepiscopal dignity in the time of our Scholiast; but we learn from

in the same way, and probably owing to the same cause—the accidental omission of names of similar sound. The genealogy is as follows (Book of Leinster, fol. 238 a):—"Bishop Aedh, s. of Brocan, s. of Cormac, s. of Diarmait, s. of Eochaidh Guineach, s. of Aongus, s. of Ere, s. of Breacan, s. of Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach, s. of Cathair mór." On comparing this pedigree with that of St. Fiacc, it will be seen that the defect occurs in the same place as before, viz., between Ere and Aongus. For Eochaidh Guineach slew his maternal grandfather, Criathan King of Leinster, A. D. 484, according to the Chron. Scotorum, dated by O'Flaherty; it is impossible, therefore, that he can have been only seventh in descent from Cathair mór. But the genealogy between bishop Aedh and Eochaidh Guineach, seems to be correct, and is quite consistent with the date assigned to the death

of Aedh, by the Annals of Ulster and Tigernach. Murchu Maccmachtheini was one of the ecclesiastics present at the synod of Adamnan, which exempted women from service in war; *circa*. A. D. 690. Reeves, *Adamnan, App. to Pref.*, p. l. and li., note *. See also Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. Actt. SS. p. 465 a., n. 31.

¹ Colgan.—"Hic autem obiter observa hujus Scholiastæ vetustatem, qui videtur floruisse ante sæculi sexti finem: nam verbis citatis indicat Successores S. Fici fuisse Archiepiscopos Lageniæ usque ad sua tempora. Cogitosus autem Nepos S. Brigidæ, et qui floruit ante finem sæculi sexti, in Præfatione ad vitam ejusdem sanctæ Virginis, indicat Sedem Archiepiscopalem Lageniensium fuisse Killdaria: suo tempore: et author vitæ S. Maidoci (quam damus ad 31 Januarii) capite 28 ejusdem vitæ, scribit eandem Sedem fuisse per

Cogitosus, author of the Life of St. Bridget, that in his time (the latter half of the sixth century, as Colgan thought) Kildare was the archiepiscopal see of Leinster; and the author of the Life of St. Aedan, or Moedóg, states that Brandubh, King of Leinster, together with a synod of the province, had made Ferns the archiepiscopal see: a change which must have taken place before the end of the sixth century, because King Brandubh was slain in 601, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. The successors of St. Fiacc of Slebhthe, therefore, cannot have continued archbishops much longer than about the middle of the sixth century, which, accordingly, fixes the date of the Scholiast.

To this Father Byeus¹, in his life of St. Fiacc, replies that the title of archbishop was not given to any bishops in Ireland, until the twelfth century; and, therefore, he concludes that the Scholiast, by giving that title to St. Fiacc, betrays the fact that he himself cannot have flourished before that period. Byeus appears to draw a similar inference from the title of *Archpoet*, given by the Scholiast to Dubhthach, the tutor of St. Fiacc, which, he says, "savours of the eleventh or twelfth century." But this very title ought to have led him to recognize his mistake; for by calling Dubhthach "*Archpoet* of Ireland," the Scholiast did not intend to say that Dubhthach held any office, or exercised any jurisdiction over the other poets of Ireland, but simply that he was the most eminent poet, or the chief poet of Ireland; and so, in like manner, when the Scholiast calls Fiacc *Archbishop*, the meaning is that he was the most eminent, or remarkable bishop of Leinster.

Brandubium Regem (qui occubuit anno 601), et synodum Lageniensem constitutam Fernæ. Idemque scribit Author vitæ S. Molingi, quam damus ad 17 Junii." *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 8, not. 8. The date of King Brandubh's death is given by the Four Mast. 601; by the Ann. Ult., 604; and by Tigernach (or rather by O'Flaherty, who has dated the Annals of Tigernach), 605. This last is no doubt the correct year.

¹ Byeus, — Actt. SS. ad 11 Oct., p. 98, num. 7. "At vero, etsi quidem inter Hiberniæ episcopos, semper aliqui, qui præ aliis quid amplioris dignitatis aut jurisdictionis ecclesias-

tica haberent, hincque recte dici possent *primates*, extiterint, ii tamen non prius quam sec. circiter xii, uti ad xvii Junii diem in Commentario actis S. Molingi Fernensis episcopi prævio, num. 8, jam docuimus, appellari cœperunt *archiepiscopi*; quare cum nihilominus S. Fieco *archiepiscopi* titulum, ac præterea Dubtacho, cujus ille discipulus extitisse perhibetur, honorificam *archipoeta*, appellationem, quæ seculum xi. aut xii. sapit, attribuat S. Fiechi scholiastes, scriptorem hunc, ut jam statui, ante sec. vi. finem vel paulo duntaxat post floruisse, quis credat"? See *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 14, sq.

The mistake is one into which Colgan himself has fallen, and which impairs the validity of his argument on the other side; for the Scholiast does not use the ecclesiastical Greek title *Arch-bishop*, (which in its strict sense, as implying canonical jurisdiction over other bishops, was unknown in Ireland until the twelfth century), but *Ard-epsco*, high bishop; *Ard-file*, high poet—that is to say, chief or principal bishop, or poet, not in reference to jurisdiction, but in reference to respect or precedency. In this sense, there is nothing inconsistent in the supposition that there might be more than one *ard-*, or *chief*-bishop in a district; and, consequently, when our Scholiast calls the successors of St. Fiacc in Slebhte, *ard*, or *chief*-bishops, and says that they were so regarded down to his own day, it does not at all follow that the bishops of Kildare and Ferns may not have also been considered *ard*, or *chief* bishops, at the same time.

The passage in the Preface to the Life of St. Bridget, by Cogitosus, to which Colgan refers, is a remarkable evidence of this loose or rather ancient use of the term, even as it stands in Colgan's Latin Version. For the author tells us, not as Colgan represents his testimony, that Kildare was recently made the archiepiscopal see of Leinster, but that it had *always* been an archbishopric of Ireland, that is to say, a chief or principal bishopric of Ireland: his words are,—“Quam [sc. cathedram] *semper* Archiepiscopus Hiberniensium Episcoporum, et Abbatisa, quam omnes Abbatissæ Scotorum venerantur, sælici successionem, et ritu perpetuo dominantur.” It is evident that Cogitosus must have here used the Irish word *ard-epsco*, chief bishop, not the modern ecclesiastical title *archbishop*, of which he could have known nothing: and the meaning of the foregoing passage was simply this, that the see, or *cathedra*, of Kildare was always governed by a bishop who was recognized as an *ard*, or *high* bishop [that is, as holding an eminent place among the Irish bishops], and by an abbess, who was regarded with veneration by all other abbesses of the Scots or Irish.

The Bishop of Kildare was *chief* amongst the bishops, in the same sense in which the Abbess of Kildare was *chief* amongst the abbesses of the Scotie nation; and it should be particularly noticed that this, he says expressly, had been *always* the case,—*semper*², i. e. from the very foundation of the monastery. It

¹ His words.—Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 518.

² *Semper*.—It is curious to read Colgan's note on the words, “Quam *semper* Archiepis-

copus Hiberniensium Episcoporum,” &c. He says, “Non intelligit quod fuerit omnium Hibernorum” [although Cogitosus expressly says so], “sed solum *Lageniensium* Archie-

is evident, therefore, that Cogitosus spoke only of a pre-eminence of dignity or respect, not of metropolitan or archiepiscopal jurisdiction; and such pre-eminence did not interfere with the same title of *ard-epsco*p, or archbishop (if we choose to translate it so) being given to other bishops at the same time, and even within the same district, such as Leinster.

This fallacy runs through all that Colgan has written on the subject; and has, in all probability, also unconsciously interfered with the exact fidelity of his translations from the Irish. For example, in translating the words of the Scholiast, in the Preface to the Hymn before us, he makes his author say,—“Et postea ab eodem [*sc.* Patricio] consecratus est [*Fiecus*] Episcopus, et tandem Lageniæ Archiepiscopus institutus: quo etiam munere ejus Comorbani, sive Successores abinde funguntur”¹. Here there is nothing in the original to represent the words *tandem institutus*, or *munere funguntur*, although honest Colgan, thinking only of the modern archiepiscopal function, doubtless believed that by this paraphrase he was only more fully expressing the meaning of his author. But the original says merely that Fiacc was ordained a bishop by St. Patrick, and from that time was regarded as a chief or eminent bishop, as were his successors after him.

The passage quoted by Colgan, from the Life of St. Moedóc of Ferns, has doubtless suffered in the same way from the prepossession of its translator, who probably lived at a period when the modern idea of an archbishop was better known. He tells us that a great synod held in Leinster by King Brandubh, in which the laity, as well as clergy, had seats, decreed, in honour of St. Moedóc, and, in reward for his services to the King, that the see of Ferns, then recently founded, should be thenceforth the Archbishopric of Leinster: “ut archiepiscopatus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedóc;” and, accordingly, the saint was then consecrated archbishop “by many Catholics”². But all this, most probably, means no more than that St.

piscopus. Nec hæc dignitas metropolitana semper Kildariæ fuit” [although Cogitosus says expressly that it was; using this very word *semper*]. Colgan then goes on to say that St. Fiacc, as bishop of Slebhite, was the first archbishop of Leinster; that then the metropolitan jurisdiction was transferred to Kildare; then to Ferns, and finally to Dublin,

where it still remains. But nothing can be more clear than that Cogitosus was not thinking of archiepiscopal or metropolitan jurisdiction, in the modern sense, in which the see of Dublin now possesses it. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 17.

¹ *Funguntur*.—Triad. Thaum., p. 4, n. 1 a.

² *Catholics*.—Colgan, Act. SS. ad 31 Jan.,

Moedóc and his successors should always be regarded as chief or eminent bishops¹.

It follows that Colgan's argument to prove that his Scholiast flourished in the sixth century, and the argument of Byeus, bringing him down to the twelfth, are both fallacious; both being founded on the same assumption that the title *ard-episcop*, as used in Irish authorities, was equivalent to the later ecclesiastical term *Archbishop*, and implied canonical or metropolitical jurisdiction.

The opinion expressed by Papebroch², although rejected by Byeus, is, therefore, in the Editor's judgment, more near the truth, viz., that the Scholiast is to be regarded as an author of the eighth (or, perhaps he ought rather to have said, as he spoke only of Colgan's Scholiast, the tenth or eleventh) century.

By Colgan's Scholiast is here meant the author of the Preface, or biographical account of St. Fiacc, prefixed to the Hymn: for the gloss or notes may perhaps be from a still later hand. These, now for the first time printed, from the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, are manifestly older than the notes published by Colgan. And, nevertheless, from the explanations given in them of obscure and obsolete words, it is evident that some time must have elapsed between their composition and the composition of the original hymn. The prevailing character of these notes is etymological and philological. The notes printed by Colgan are, for the most part, historical and legendary; and they contain

p. 211, cap. 28. "Et magna civitas in honore S. Moedoc ibi crevit, que eodem nomine vocatur .i. Fearná. Deinde facta synodo magná in terra Lagenensium decrevit Rex Brandub et tam laici, quam clerici ut archiepiscopus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedoc. Et tunc sanctus Moedoc a multis Catholicis consecratus est archiepiscopus." The words "a multis Catholicis consecratus" are obscure. Was this passage written at a time when a bishop might have been consecrated in Ireland by any who were not Catholics? What non-Catholic bishops were then in Ireland?

¹ *Bishops*.—Colgan's elaborate note on this passage (*Act. SS.*, p. 217, n. 29), with the

authorities which he there quotes to prove that there were always Archbishops in Ireland, is full of the same fallacy.

² *Papebroch*.—See his *Comm. prævius in Act. S. Patricii* (ad xvii. Mart., num. 15 (p. 520 B), where he says, "Sed et scholia in hymnum illum scripta non videntur nobis tam esse antiqua quam existimant aliqui: cum in iis non pauca occurrunt, quæ seculo septimo posteriorem auctorem sapiunt." And again, num. 33 (p. 523 D.), he says: "In quem [hymnum S. Fiaci] antiqui Scholiastæ notæ pertinent ad seculum non vi., sed viii., ut illis antiquior sit Vita tum illa quam Evinius scripsit, tum alia quam Tirechanus fecit, qui ambo seculo vii. floruerunt."

also such legends as prove them to be, beyond all doubt, much later than the Hymn.

For example, the Hymn contains no allusion to the celebrated Baculus JESU, or "staff of JESUS," which St. Patrick was said to have received from a hermit of the Tyrrhene sea¹, and which, according to the Tripartite Life, was also delivered to him by Christ Himself². But the story is alluded to in Colgan's edition of the Scholia, where it is said that Patrick "found" the Baculus in an island of the Tyrrhene sea, called Alanensis, near Mount Armon³.

This story can scarcely be older than the eighth or ninth century. It is not found in the Book of Armagh, nor in the *Second Life*, published by Colgan, the author of which must have lived some time after the death of St. Fiacc, for he tells us expressly that the relics of Fiacc were in his time preserved in the church of Slebhite⁴. It is not mentioned in the Life by Probus, who, nevertheless, notices the "baculus" of Patrick, and attributes to it miraculous virtues, but without any intimation that it was "the Staff of Jesus;" and no allusion to it occurs in the Gloss or Scholia of the Dublin MS., which are now for the first time published.

Again, the notes of Colgan's MS. are the only authority for the statement that the voices of the children of Caille Fochlad, calling upon St. Patrick to come and save them, were heard in Rome, not by Patrick only, but also by Pope Celestine⁵. This is an improvement upon the story told in the Hymn

¹ *Tyrrhene Sea*.—Vit. 3^{4a}, cap. 23; Vit. 4^a, cap. 29; Vit. 6^a (Jocelin.) cap. 24.

² *Himself*.—"Venit ad vicinum Montem Hermon, in quo placuerit Christo ei apparere; ibique tanquam alteri Moysi tradidit jam laudatum baculum, qui passim Baculus JESU nuncupatur."—Vit. Trip. i., c. 37.

³ *Armon*.—"Et tunc invenit baculum JESU, in insula Alanensi, prope Montem Armon."

⁴ *Slebhite*.—"Quidam adolescens nomine Fiee, qui postea fuit episcopus, et reliquiae eius hi Slebhite [venerantur]." Vit. 2^{4a}, c. 38 (Triad. Thaum., p. 15). But these words are closely connected with a passage in the Book of Armagh, where we read (fol. 4, b 2) —"Quidam adolescens poeta nomine Feee, qui postea mirabilis episcopus fuit, cujus re-

liquiae adorantur hi Slebti." The Vita secunda calls Fiee "adolescens," "not "adolescens poeta;" and "episcopus," not "mirabilis episcopus." Is this evidence that the Vita secunda is older than the Book of Armagh?

⁵ *Baculus*.—Vit. 5, (Probus) lib. ii., c. 21. For the more recent history of this celebrated Baculus, see *Obits and Martyrol. of Christ's Church*, Introd., p. xi, sq., where the Editor must confess to an oversight, when he said that the Lives of St. Patrick all speak of this baculus. Comp. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, pp. 323, 328, 331.

⁶ *Celestine*.—"Ipse Celestinus quando ordinabatur Patricius, audiebat vocem infantium eum advocantium."

